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THE AHMADIYA MOVEMENT AND ITS WESTERN PROPAGANDA

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IF he knows where to look for them, the traveller may find among the suburbs of London two Mohammedan mosques — one about thirty-six years old at Woking in Surrey, the other only a year or two old at Southfields near Wandsworth. Here, every week, come English worshippers, and from these centres of Islam, with their resident missionaries, go forth various types of propaganda aiming to present Islam in favorable and convincing fashion to the modern western world. Both of these headquarters are controlled by branches or sub-sects of the Ahmadiya Movement — a recent heretical offshoot of Mohammedanism. The study of its origin and present teachings, therefore, has more than academic value, for it will reveal the history and aims of the only branch of Islam which is seriously trying to convert western Christians.

The external history of the Ahmadiya Movement may be briefly told, for more interesting will be a review of its present propaganda.¹

The founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, was born in 1839 in the village of Qadian in the Panjab. In his youth he studied Arabic, and at seventeen began a period of four years' service as a government clerk at Sialkot. Since he was not only studious but also visionary, he was rather a failure as an employee, and, resigning from the service at twenty-one, he returned to Qadian. But his career at Sialkot, if without value to the government, served at least to bring him into touch at an impressionable age

¹ The best account of the Ahmadiya Movement up to 1918 (including a good bibliography) is that by H. A. Walter in *The Ahmadiya Movement*, Oxford University Press, 1918.

with missionaries of the Church of Scotland. With them he used to have long religious discussions, and through their influence he became familiar with parts of the Scriptures. This experience, together with the fact that his family had long been attached to Sufism, accounts in some measure for certain peculiar and heretical tendencies in his religious life and thought. Far more important, however, in accounting for his subsequent career is the fact that he was physically and mentally unsound. He states himself that he had chronic diabetes and vertigo. He was also frequently subject to hallucinations and visions.

After returning to Qadian in 1860 he lived for many years a retired life. "I was given up," he says, "to solitude and a life of devotion, and had a fixed aversion to mixing with society." "I always shunned the path of renown and wanted to be left alone with my meditations." "But," he adds, "God's command was imperative." The first and mildest of these commands he publicly obeyed in 1880. In that year he published the first two parts of his most famous work, the *Barahin-i-Ahmadiya* ('Ahmadiya Proofs'). Basing his claim on a Moslem tradition to the effect that in every century of the Moslem era God will raise up one who shall reform the faith, Ahmad announced himself as the one to appear in the beginning of the fourteenth century after the Hegira. Not for nine years, however, does the Ahmadiya Movement properly begin, for not until 1889 did Ahmad announce that God had given him the right to accept *bai'at*, the kind of homage paid to a religious leader by a disciple. Thenceforward there began to grow up a little group which accepted the guidance of Ahmad in all spiritual matters. Two years later, however, in 1891, there came a revelation far more startling to all and to many more convincing. Ahmad then announced that he was both the Promised Messiah and the coming Mahdi expected by Moslems. Thenceforward he was engaged in preaching, teaching, and writing, with the purpose of winning and fortifying his increasing followers and defending himself against the attacks of a growing number of enemies — Moslem, Hindu, and Christian. The Moslem authorities secured a *fatwa* against him (ratified by many important mullahs throughout India), which condemned him and his dis-

ciples as heretics, forbade the orthodox to have marriage relations with them, and sanctioned their persecution. Vigorous propaganda to win converts and bitter controversies with opponents occupied the leader during the remaining eighteen years of his life. In 1908 he died at Lahore and was buried at Qadian.

His followers were first known as Qadiani; but since 1900 they have been registered by the government of India as a distinct Mohammedan sect — the Ahmadiya. By 1896 the community numbered only about 300, but fifteen years later its members were estimated as nearly 50,000. In 1918 they had probably reached a total of 70,000. The 1921 census, however, though all its volumes are not yet available in America, indicates, in at least one province, a diminution in membership.

Quite as briefly as the life of the founder must be summarized the later history of the sect. After Ahmad's death his place was taken by the "first khalifa," Hakim Nur-ud-Din, who controlled the affairs of the community with the guidance of a committee known as Sadr-Anjumani-i-Ahmadiya. Before his death in 1914 party divisions had already arisen within the sect. The leaders of one group had begun to engage in political controversy, while the leaders of the other maintained Ahmad's rule to avoid all such activity. At the death of Nur-ud-Din a gathering of members at Qadian, representing the more conservative wing, elected as khalifa Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, eldest son of Ghulam Ahmad by his second wife. Since the election was protested by members of the opposite party, the latter seceded, founded a new society with headquarters at Lahore, and elected as khalifa Maulvi Muhammad Ali. Ostensibly breaking over a point of practical policy, the two wings really represented two attitudes toward the movement and its founder, and ever since have more and more widely diverged. The Qadian party (the larger of the two) holds conservatively to the claims of Ahmad and emphasizes their distinction in this respect from orthodox Islam. At the same time they have retained more of the belief and practices of orthodox Islam. The Lahore group, more liberal in its tendencies and despised by the Qadiani, now carries on in India little propaganda for the Ahmadiya Movement as such and none at

all of that type in the West. Both parties are distinguished for their missionary activity. Ahmadis of one or of both sects have missions not only in every province of India but also in Ceylon, Burma, Mauritius, the Malay States, West Africa, Syria, Turkey, France, Germany, England, and the United States. The Lahore group is stronger in England than the Qadiani but weaker in India and in most of the mission fields. It has no workers in the United States. As to the number of western converts, reliable statistics are not available. The Qadiani, who have headquarters in Chicago, claim 1500 in the United States, and the Woking Mission (of the other sect) claims nearly 1000 followers, Indian as well as English, in Great Britain. But since Ahmadi propagandists tell us that there are 400,000,000 Moslems in the world, when there are in fact not more than 240,000,000, we cannot count upon the accuracy of their figures.

I

THE QADIAN PARTY¹

As the conservative wing of the movement the Qadian party prefers to emphasize the special characteristics of the Ahmadiya Movement which mark it as distinct from either orthodox or liberal Islam. This its leaders do even in their western propaganda published in English.

¹ The material used in writing this article has been found in the following books, pamphlets, and periodicals:

A. Qadian Party

1. Ahmad, the Promised Messiah and Mahdi (from his own writings and sayings), 4th edition, Secunderabad, 1922, pp. vi, 481.
2. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, *The Teachings of Islam*, London, 1910, pp. xii, 195.
3. *The Teachings of the Promised Messiah*, being extracts from the writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Lahore, 1924, pp. 56.
4. *A Character Sketch of the Promised Messiah*, being an epistle of Hazrat Maulvi Abdul Karim, Lahore, 1924, pp. 74.
5. Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, *Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam*, Qadian, [1924], pp. 429.
6. A. R. Dard, *Die Ohnmacht-Theorie im Leben Jesu Christi*, [Berlin, 1925], pp. 16.
7. Hazrat Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, *Mighty Signs of the Living God: the Present Pitiable Plight of the Ex-Tsar Foretold by the Indian Prophet Twelve Years Ago*, Qadian, 1917, pp. 15.

Plainly foremost among these sectarian features is the claim of Ahmad to be the Promised Messiah. No attempt is made to tone down this claim. Indeed, it is broadly spread through the literature intended for possible foreign converts.

Influenced by the Sunnite belief that one sign of the approach of the Last Day will be the simultaneous appearance of the Messiah and the Mahdi, Ahmad lays claim to be both in one. Hitherto they had commonly been taken to be two distinct persons with different functions. Though representing himself as uniting the two in his own person, Ahmad lays far greater stress

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8. The Holy Qur'an, with English Translation and Explanatory Notes, etc. Part I, Qadian, 1915, pp. 117, viii.
 9. The Sunrise [fortnightly paper]. Vol. I, No. 14, July 7, 1927, Qadian.
 10. The Review of Religions [monthly magazine]. Vol. XXV, No. 10, Oct., 1926; vol. XXVI, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 7, Jan., Feb., Mar., and July, 1927, London.

B. Lahore Party

1. J. W. Lovegrove, What is Islam? Woking, 1926, pp. 114.
2. Lord Headley, A Western Awakening to Islam, London, [1914], pp. 145.
3. Lord Headley, The Three Great Prophets of the World, Woking, 1926, pp. 116.
4. Al-Haj Lord Headley, What Do We Believe? Woking, 1927, pp. 14.
5. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Muhammad and Christ, Lahore, 1921, pp. 159.
6. Maulvi Muhammad Ali, Islam, the Religion of Humanity, Woking, n.d., pp. 32.
7. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, Woman in Islam, Lahore, n.d., pp. 37.
8. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, Four Lectures on Islam, Lahore, n.d., pp. 72.
9. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, Five Pillars of Islam, Woking, n.d., pp. 8.
10. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, Marmaduke Pickthall, and Dudley Wright, London Muslim House Sermons, Woking, n.d., pp. 48.
11. Marmaduke Pickthall, Islam and Progress, Lahore, [1917].
12. What is Islam? [leaflet of four pages].
13. The Islamic Review [monthly magazine]. Vol. XIV, No. 1, Jan., 1926, and vol. XV, No. 8, Aug., 1927, Woking.

Material published by the Qadian group may be obtained from The Imam, 68 Melrose Road, London, S. W. 18 (Southfields). Material published by the Lahore group may be obtained from The Imam, The Mosque, Woking, England.

The Qadian material is written entirely by Indians, for the English mission of this sect is of very recent origin. The Lahore material, as the reader has noted, is written partly by Indians and partly by Englishmen. With the possible exception of Mr. Pickthall, a novelist by profession, the propaganda produced by the Indians is far superior to that produced by the Englishmen. Kamal-ud-Din and Muhammad Ali are excellent controversialists, keen, coherent, and not too scrupulous; but as to the mental endowments of Lord Headley and Mr. Lovegrove, the less said the better. All the writers succumb to the partisan temptation to make uneven comparisons. They always compare the Moslem ideal or "the Spirit of Islam" with the actualities of Christianity.

on the rôle of Messiah, and nearly all of the arguments relating to his personal claims centre about the Messiahship.

Assuming "a universal belief throughout Christendom that the hour of the Messiah's advent has come," proved by "the most accurate calculations based on Biblical prophecies," Ahmad declares, "Ye Christians of Europe and America! and ye seekers after the Truth! Know it for certain that the Messiah who was to come has come, and it is he who is speaking to you at this moment. . . . All ye that are desirous of perpetual happiness and eternal salvation, fly to me." He is careful, however, to explain that he does not claim to be Jesus himself returned to earth. He frankly concedes, too, that the manner of his appearance is different from what was expected and that many of the signs supposed to accompany the Messiah's advent are missing in his case. Yet, quite undaunted, he tries to make a strong point out of what would seem to be a weak one. He points out that it is a divine law that a personal and literal second advent of a man who has left the world never takes place, and that such a promise must be construed spiritually. He does not appear *as* Jesus, but "in the spirit and power of Jesus." As analogy and almost as proof he cites the fact that in the case of Jesus' historical appearance as Messiah few of the signs expected were fulfilled — a fact which largely accounts for the rejection of Jesus' claims by the Jews. Yet we honor Jesus' claims to be the Christ and condemn the Jews for their tragic errors of interpretation. Therefore, argues Ahmad, just as Elijah's second coming did not literally precede the advent of Christ, but John came "in the spirit and power of Elijah" — the true fulfilment of the prophecy — so Jesus does not literally return himself, but as an equally true fulfilment of prophecy Ahmad comes "in the spirit and power of Jesus." "If the first Messiah could come without the manifestation of a single wonder, although a host of such wonders had been promised, why cannot the second Messiah make his entrance into the world in the ordinary way, and why should we make ourselves fools in the eyes of all sensible men by looking in vain to the clouds? . . . Adherence to a literal interpretation brought a people to destruction before us." "Therefore

it is a serious error to think that unless all the proposed signs are fulfilled, the claimant to Messiahship cannot be accepted. If some of the signs are fulfilled, it would follow that the traditions speaking of the others, which are not fulfilled, are fabrications and must be rejected. The Jews who accepted Jesus as our Holy Prophet acted upon this wise rule and therefore they were saved."

But Ahmad realizes that these points merely serve to make clear the *nature* of his claims, and are not proofs that he is indeed the Messiah. The actual proofs that he offers are varied and of great interest. Among them is the natural appeal to his own inner experience. He has been called by God to be the Messiah. "I am not of this earth. I say only what God has put into my mouth." "By His grace He made me the Promised Messiah." "The word which is revealed to me comes with a majesty . . . and makes an impression upon my soul . . . the power and majesty with which the word of God enters the heart . . . the impression that it makes . . . determine it to a certainty that it is from God." "It came upon me in languages quite unknown to me, as English, Sanskrit, and Hebrew." "The extraordinary favor and grace with which He approached me, none knows but I, and the unique place on which I stand in His love and devotion, none knows but He." "I have personal experience in this matter, and in the Word of God revealed to me I find words of honor and dignity used by me which I have not met with in any Gospel as used concerning Jesus Christ." "It is an established fact that in the course of these thirteen hundred years not a single man has been favored with such a rich plenty of God's inspiration as I have received." "In these days God so willed that the diverse qualities and virtues of all noble, true, and holy prophets of God dwell in one individual person. And *I am that Person*." When in this mood of assertion he is even willing to add, "He who rejects me fights with God," and "Any misdoubt or incredulity regarding the revelation of God which is granted to me is absurd and fantastical."

Ahmad has elaborated, however, many proofs more objective than his own inner convictions. "The heavenly signs which

have been manifested in support of my claims can be counted by thousands." "My revelations are attested by miracles and prophecies which in quality and number surpass those of most of the earlier prophets, and are immeasurably above those of some of them." Foremost among these proofs are those concerned with the time of his appearance and his relation to the general scheme of prophetic succession. According to God's world-plan as viewed by Ahmad, a Messiah (Jesus) ended the chain of the successors of Moses, and therefore it was intended that a Messiah should end the chain of the successors of Mohammed. In other words, in the Jewish dispensation Moses and Jesus are in the same relation as, in the Islamic dispensation, are Mohammed and Ahmad. What might seem only an analogy becomes a proof when we realize that the distance in time between Moses and Jesus (according to Ahmad) is fourteen centuries. Therefore a Messiah must appear in the fourteenth century after Mohammed — that is, he is now due. Furthermore, he asserts, the revelations of all Moslem saints fix the appearance of the Messiah at the beginning of the fourteenth century of Islam and none puts it further into the future. A still more fantastic method of reckoning Ahmad's position in the divine scheme appears in the claim that seven thousand years constitute one world-cycle. Creation took place in seven days and one day in God's sight is equal to a thousand years. According to prophecy, he says, the Messiah is due at the end of the sixth thousand of years or at the beginning of the seventh thousand. The first Adam was created at the end of the sixth day and the second Adam (the Messiah) comes at the end of the sixth thousand of years. In other words, he is now due.

These reckonings of time, advanced as convincing in themselves, are given added point and power by many signs and portents which indicate that the hour, long awaited, has struck. One sign of the Mahdi's advent referred to in the Koran and elaborated in tradition is the eclipse of the moon and of the sun to occur on the thirteenth and the twenty-eighth (respectively) of the month of Ramadan. This extraordinary coincidence, foretold thirteen hundred years earlier, took place in 1894 and obviously pointed to Mirza Ghulam

Ahmad. Another portent indicated in the Koran and in tradition is the appearance of the plague; and plague ravaged the Panjab during the first few years of the twentieth century. Further signs discovered by Ahmad are less impressive but more amusing. He finds that the Messiah is to come at a time when a new and more convenient mode of travelling would take the place of camels. The construction of railways during his lifetime plainly fills this requirement. Again, had it not been said that at the appointed hour means would be available by which books might be produced in large numbers, rivers would be split into canals, and intercourse between different peoples would become easy? The printing-press, irrigation-works, the telegraph, and the newspaper are undeniable fulfillments of these prophecies. Furthermore, "the Koran and the authentic traditions are . . . both in agreement as to the Promised Messiah being a member of the Moslem community . . . and it is also stated that the Promised Messiah would appear at a place to the east of Damascus, Qadian occupying exactly that situation."

Within the sphere of prophecies fulfilled Ghulam Ahmad himself goes little beyond the items here noted. But his second successor, Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, cites many others. Modern changes in the status of women, the increase of gambling, the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the invention of the graphophone, and the construction of the Panama Canal are all mentioned as fulfilling prophecies and as indicating that our own era is the era of the Messiah's foretold appearance. Traditional authority has even been found for various personal characteristics of Ahmad, such as his straight wheat-colored hair, his slight stammer, and his habit, in talking, of striking his hand against his thigh. All these points, solemnly rehearsed either by the claimant himself or by his present caliph at Qadian, have been set forth in English for the conversion of westerners as recently as the period 1922-1924.

Thus far, however, we have cited as proofs only prophecies which Ahmad claims to have fulfilled. None of these involves any activity on his part except the announcement of his claims. But prophecies and miracles might reasonably be demanded

of a Promised Messiah, and it was not long after his early declarations before Ahmad was prepared to point to conclusive evidence of personal power. "It will never be possible," he asserts, "for you to point out any living man of any religion who can be set against me in the blessings and heavenly signs granted to me." "I fully hope and am certain that if any one were to live in my company for forty days consecutively, he would witness a heavenly sign." "By Him in whose hands is my life, more than two hundred thousand signs have been manifested on my hands." From this large number we shall select only a few as examples. They include both prophecies and miracles.

Regarding prophecies he declares: "There is not a single one of my prophecies which has not already been fulfilled either wholly or in part. Their fulfilment has been clear as daylight and there are thousands of witnesses for them. They have not a single parallel in history except in the life of our Holy Prophet." After such an announcement we might expect evidence of a varied and convincing kind, but nothing very notable is revealed. Rather entertaining, however, are some of Ahmad's adventures in competitive prophecy, to which he was addicted. On one occasion, irritated by the utterances of Lekh Ram, a Brahman leader of the Arya Samaj, he challenged him to a prophecy-match. Lekh Ram had claimed that the Vedas were the Word of God and that the Koran was not. To decide who was right Ahmad insisted that Lekh Ram should publish a prophecy concerning him and that he (Ahmad) should publish a prophecy concerning Lekh Ram. The results would show which man was truly inspired. After shaking hands in the ring, so to speak, Lekh Ram produced a formidable prophecy to the effect that Ahmad would die of cholera within three years. The cordial retort of Ahmad was that Lekh Ram would be murdered within six years on a day close to the *'Id* (a Moslem festival). Four years later, Ahmad having failed to die of cholera, Lekh Ram, on the day after the festival named, was stabbed by an assassin. Thus, as the winner subsequently remarked, "the death of Lekh Ram in the manner predicted . . . bore witness to the fact that the Vedas are not of divine origin." But the

members of the Arya Samaj, instead of being converted, merely persisted in the belief (for which there was no evidence) that Ahmad was in some way connected with the murder. Not all the prophecies, however, were as menacing as this. "On one occasion," he tells us, "I informed Maulvi Hakim Nur-ud-Din that a son would be born to him who would have sores upon his body." And the prophecy came true. To the very few concrete examples which Ahmad himself offers may be added several more cited by his present followers. They assert that he prophesied that his gospel would be preached in London, that the World War would come, and that the Tsar would be overthrown — and beyond doubt all these things have come to pass.

To all who are not convinced by these prophecies, miraculous in their nature, Ahmad or his successors can offer evidence of other miracles. "How then," he exclaimed, "can the miracles pervading early prophetic history bear any comparison with mine, some of which have been witnessed by millions of human beings!" When the plague was rife in the Panjab in 1901 God revealed to Ahmad that he and his followers at Qadian would be protected. His hope that none would be stricken was disappointed; but in defence he replied that he had foretold only that his followers would be "*comparatively* safe." Those who perished, he added, were permitted to die either because they were untrue to their faith or for "some other reason known to God only." Meantime he had declined to confuse the issue by submitting to inoculation.

Most original of all his miracles, however, were his "prayer-duels," many of which he attempted and in several of which he engaged. "He wrote [to the Christian missionaries] saying that as the latter claimed to be followers and representatives of Jesus, who used to show signs, and the Promised Messiah claimed to be a servant and representative of Mohammed . . . a proper way of contrasting the truth of their respective religions would be to show whose prayers were accepted by God. The method suggested was that a number of men who suffered from what were ordinarily regarded as fatal diseases should be selected and divided equally between the Promised Messiah

and the Christians by casting lots, and that each party should pray for the recovery of the patients allotted to it, and the result of the prayer of each would show whose prayer had been heard. The Christian missionaries, however, declined to take up the challenge." Their refusal to coöperate spoiled that particular miracle; but some of these prayer-duels were one-sided and did not even require an acceptance from the opponent. A minor instance of this unilateral duelling is recorded by Ahmad as follows: "A sign . . . was manifested through Maulvi Ghulam Dastgir of Qasur who published in his book *Fateh Rahman* of his own accord a prayer against me, to the effect that of us two God might destroy the liar first. A few days had passed when the Maulvi died and thus bore a testimony to my truth." More memorable was Ahmad's unsuccessful effort to stage a duel with the famous Alexander Dowie of Zion City, Illinois. Dowie (so Ahmad heard) not only claimed to be the forerunner of the second coming of Jesus but also announced that God had sent him to destroy Islam and its followers before the appearance of Jesus. On both counts, therefore, he was viewed by Ahmad as an enemy. So the Promised Messiah wrote to Dowie and challenged him to a prayer-duel. "As the latter claimed to have come to destroy Islam, they could easily demonstrate the truth of their respective claims by means of prayer; that is to say, each of them should pray that of the two he who was an impostor might be chastised and destroyed by God in the lifetime of the other." From Ahmad's point of view this can only be described as a very sporting proposition, since Ahmad at the time (1902) was sixty-three years old, whereas Dowie was only fifty-five. But Dowie declined. His refusal, however, could not prevent the later disruption of Zion City, his subsequent insanity, and his miserable death in 1907 — the year before Ahmad died.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad presented himself not only as the Promised Messiah and the Mahdi ("I am at once *Isa Messih* and *Muhammad Mahdi*") but also as an avatar of Krishna. This last claim he did not make until 1904, four years before his death. Until then his attitude toward Hinduism had been hostile, but thereafter he appears to have been eager to be ac-

cepted by Hindus as well as by Moslems and Christians. God "has told me . . . that I am Krishna for the Hindus . . . I love Krishna for I appear as his image. . . . Thus spiritually Krishna and the Promised Messiah are one and the same person." Yet the result of this eleventh-hour effort to make his gospel more nearly universal was not the winning of the Hindus but the further alienation of all orthodox Moslems.

One of the few characteristic features of the propaganda of the Qadian party is this proclamation of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as Messiah-Mahdi-Avatar. Most of their remaining tenets might be accepted by orthodox Moslems. In fact, their present caliph at Qadian has recently dared to announce that "the teachings of the Promised Messiah . . . were diametrically opposed to all the currents of modern thought." Their usually conventional theology, their insistence upon the "Five Pillars" (creed, prayers, fasting, alms, and pilgrimage), and their belief in the infallibility of the Koran, all unite them with the Sunnite majority. But in the field of ethics the Qadian sect has been growing slightly more modern and accommodating. This distinction is of importance, for the emphasis on the ethical aspect of Islam increases, and the newer publications by Ahmad's successors speak more of morals and less of Ahmad than do the earlier productions of the Messiah himself.

The ethical teaching offered in English to westerners covers a wide field. It is largely apologetic in character, with an eye to Christian contrasts or criticisms. Emphasis is laid upon the fact that man is born with a pure and sinless nature. "Islam has, by putting forward this truth, completely altered man's point of view towards good and evil, and given him hope and courage." In teaching of forgiveness and punishment there is urged a golden mean between revenge and unlimited forgiveness. Punishment should be proportionate to the offence and forgiveness withheld when it might do harm. "Vengeance should not interfere with the proper working of pity, nor should pity overstep its limits and interfere with the proper working of vengeance." Similarly, hate should not be suppressed, but properly directed against evil. "Love should not interfere with hate nor hate with love." Humility and meekness are incul-

cated and hearers are taught (with quotations from the Koran) to strive for such other standard virtues as honesty, kindness, courage, veracity, patience, and sympathy. Opportunity is properly taken to point out the humane teachings of Mohammed with regard to orphans and to debtors. Some of the economic aspects of Moslem law are presented as affording solutions of western economic problems. Among these are the laws requiring "the distribution of inheritance," forbidding the taking of interest, and prescribing the regular giving of alms. On these particular points the Qadian Ahmadis are as far as ever from an accommodating liberalism. Quite as traditional, too, is their teaching about foods and wine. "Islam acknowledges," says the recent "Ahmadiyyat," "that the use of wine is beneficial in some cases, but it says that its harm far outweighs its benefits and its use ought therefore to be avoided." And every effort is made to render plausible the prohibition of certain kinds of food, especially swine's flesh. "Food plays an important part in the formation of character," we are told. "The result of giving up animal food is weakness of heart and total loss of the noble quality of courage." On this principle — really the magical principle of "like produces like" — swine's flesh "is injurious both to health and morals" and its use as food impedes the moral progress of man.

Specially earnest efforts are needed to make the Moslem teaching as to women and marriage palatable to progressive Westerners. The efforts of the Qadiani, however, do not follow the liberal line of forcibly changing Moslem law to suit the West — reading into the Koran, for instance, a zeal for monogamy. They are rather devoted to making traditional practice seem reasonable. The usual Moslem separation of the sexes is frankly advised both by Ahmad and by the present khalifa. Says the former, "Free intermingling of the two sexes and their freely casting looks at each other are productive of great mischief and no good has resulted from them. To allow men and women whose hearts are not yet purified . . . to freely mingle with, and look at, each other, is to intentionally push them down into the pit." "It is never lawful for us to cast glances at [women], whether to lust or otherwise, and to

listen to their voices, whether with a pure or an impure heart. We are forbidden to do an act in doing which we are not treading upon sure ground. . . . For the attainment and preservation of chastity, therefore, there could be no higher teaching and no nobler doctrine than that inculcated by the Holy Koran." And the khalifa writes: "Islam tells us that we can avoid the commission of [adultery] by shutting the doors through which the temptation to commit it might enter, viz., the doors of sight, hearing, and touch." After reviewing the rules about the separation of the sexes, the veiling of women, and the like, he then adds: "Nobody who thinks over these injunctions with a mind free from bias and prejudice can help admiring the wisdom underlying them, for they remove all possibility of vices which grow out of the relations of the sexes." (One might indeed admire regulations which remove all possibilities of sexual vice.) The question of polygamy calls from the khalifa the following statement: "In some cases a man is compelled to marry more wives than one out of moral or spiritual considerations, for the propagation of the race, or for the reasons of health, or on account of political considerations. Islam has therefore permitted a plurality of wives subject to the condition that they must be accorded perfectly equal treatment." Polygamy is neither sensual nor cruel, for "situations may arise in which a second marriage would not only be justified or necessary, but would become a patriotic or religious duty." The same writer even concedes that wives may be beaten for immoral conduct. The subject of divorce, however, is not treated frankly, and no indication is given to western readers of how easy is divorce for any Moslem husband and how difficult for a Moslem wife.

So anxious are the missionary leaders of Qadian to commend to westerners the moral principles of Islam that the most varied and incongruous ethical items are plucked from all kinds of sources and served up to the western reader. "It is the duty of a Moslem," we are told, "to rescue drowning men, help in putting out fires, and to render assistance in cases of earthquakes, mining disasters, railway collisions, volcanic eruptions, lightning falls, and the like." "Again, a Moslem is

prohibited from pointing a weapon or an arm at another even in fun." People who are invited to dinner ought to accept the invitation if possible. On the other hand, they should not go to dinners to which they are not invited. If they have accepted, they should arrive on time, and not criticize the quality of the food. Finally, let us not forget that "the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace and the blessings of God) used to direct his companions to kill stray dogs, lest they should go mad and bite people."

On a somewhat larger and more impressive scale is the treatment of the ethics of the state, the duties of government, and international relations. An effort is made to commend to westerners the Islamic principles of government, which are stated to be the popular election of a sovereign ruler, who is subject to certain constitutional limitations but cannot be removed from office or controlled by any other representatives of the people. "We believe that this is the only perfect form of government." As to internationalism, "the ideal of Islam," according to the present caliph, "is to establish one Central Government for the whole of the world, so as to remove all causes of international friction and wars." But "Islam does not . . . permit any agitation for the achievement of this ideal and leaves it entirely to the will of the people of different countries."

In the sphere of political ethics the only Ahmadiya contribution of any importance is the prohibition of force to secure political independence or to propagate religion. Here Ahmad broke with orthodox Islam. Though announcing himself as the expected Mahdi, he rejected the traditional conception of the *jihad*, or holy war. Ahmad declares: "I have come to deliver to you the command of God that *jihad* with the sword is now at an end . . . I . . . give the word that those who follow me . . . should exert themselves to spread peace over the earth, for thus would they propagate their faith." He not only forbids the thought of any military crusade against unbelievers, but affronts a large element in the Moslem world by approving and applauding British rule in India, against which his followers are forbidden to agitate.

From the beginning of the movement, nearly forty years ago, Ahmad and his followers set themselves to convert people of all religions — Moslems, Christians, Jews, Hindus, and any others who would hear. Their attitude toward these other religions, as revealed in their propaganda, is therefore a matter of importance. Though we are here especially concerned with their propaganda in the West and consequently with their attitude to Christianity, it will be useful to look first at their relation to orthodox Islam.

From the point of view of orthodox Islam, as we have seen, the Ahmadis are heretics. They have been condemned more than once by the decrees of the learned; and Moslem countries like Egypt and Afghanistan seldom admit their agents or their literature. In fact, it is only in countries under Christian control that they are given a fair field and no favor. Yet, after the manner of sectarians, they firmly believe that they are the only true Moslems. Everybody else is out of step. "They are not Moslems," declares Ahmad, "who refuse to believe in the Promised Messiah, although they may pray and fast and follow other Islamic injunctions." Or, in the words of the present caliph, "Ahmadiyyat and Islam are one and the same thing, and by Ahmadiyyat is meant that real Islam which God has manifested to the world through the Promised One of the present age." Since they identify themselves with the true Islam, they quite naturally make for Islam the same claims to supremacy and finality as would be made by orthodox Moslems. "No religion except Islam has the means of certainty." "The transcendent knowledge which [Mohammed] gave to the world is perfect on all sides." "Since the time that Islam was established upon earth, heavenly assistance has not been vouchsafed to other religions."

That members of the sect should claim to be true Moslems is not hard to understand, since, aside from the Messiahship of Ahmad, their teachings are usually quite orthodox. Their general statements of theological doctrine, for instance, follow conventional lines. In the writings of Ahmad and of the present caliph appear expositions of the nature and attributes of God and of the relation of man to God which have no sectarian

flavor whatever. The maintenance of the Five Pillars, too, is part of the teaching of the Ahmadiya. Their published books prescribe the prayers, the fast, the alms, and the pilgrimage, though with special insistence on their spiritual aspect. The supreme value of an infallible Koran is likewise taught. "The Holy Koran is the pure and unaltered Word of God and its authority on all points is unquestionable." "There is no book on the face of the earth for the guidance of the world but the Koran." "There is not a single one of your religious or spiritual needs which is not supplied by the Holy Koran." "The Holy Koran . . . is a limitless treasure of Divine Truths and Realities, heavenly Sciences and spiritual Philosophies, which are discovered in it in every age according to the needs of mankind." Indeed the present khalifa at Qadian goes so far as to say that "the Holy Koran contains a full and complete refutation of every doubt which is suggested by each succeeding age . . . and a reply to every criticism which may be based on fresh knowledge and new discoveries." In short, Ahmad speaks the truth when he says: "He who wishes to become a follower of mine must embrace the religion of Islam and follow the Book of Allah, the Holy Koran. . . . He must believe in Allah the Benevolent and Merciful and His Holy Prophet. He must believe in the day of Judgment, the day of Resurrection, Heaven and Hell." For the Qadian wing of the Ahmadiya Movement is not a diluted international compromise like Bahaism. Its creed is frankly the creed of Islam, without accommodation to western prejudices. The only important point of difference is belief in the messiahship of Ahmad — a point which is certainly not calculated to make acceptance easier by western hearers.

Of even more interest for our purposes is the attitude of the Qadian sect toward Christianity. Here we meet with the surprising fact that the Ahmadiya Movement has been steadily hostile to Christianity. So far as its members are Moslems such hostility is natural, but so far as they are oriental missionaries making a bid for western favor their unsparing contempt is less easy to understand. The modern Bahais, for instance, go out of their way to speak well of Christianity and to make the

transition easy for Christians. Yet the Ahmadis, though rather better treated by Christians than by Moslems, retain the typical Moslem scorn for the Christian.

Though they publish the astonishing announcement that "Islam teaches a greater toleration than any other religion" (which is unfair at least to Buddhism), they are ready to add that "with all other people [than Moslems] the way is closed to divine inspiration and to the followers of the Holy Prophet alone it is open." "Except through Islam God never reveals Himself to anyone or honors anyone with His Word or assists anyone with His mighty signs." The usual Moslem charge that Judaism and Christianity have long since become corrupt is reiterated. "All faiths have become corrupt and been tainted with falsehood with the only exception of Islam." The Bible "has been tampered with to such an extent and undergone so many changes from human hands that it does not now deserve to be called the Word of God." "As to the teachings contained in the Gospels," writes Ahmad, "I am of opinion that they are imperfect." "The teachings contained in the Gospels have . . . been all taken from earlier sources including the Talmud." "The excellent teachings revealed in the Holy Koran are thus far above those contained in the Bible . . . the whole of the Bible cannot stand against a single short chapter of the Holy Koran entitled the *Fatiha*." Jesus is represented as giving special and local laws "from their very nature unsuitable for permanent and universal adoption." "The moral teaching contained in the Gospel was only addressed to the Jews." For this and other reasons Jesus suffers by comparison with Mohammed. "What great need did Jesus . . . satisfy? . . . Did he work any great transformation in the faith, morals, and customs of the Jews? Or was he successful in purifying the lives of his chosen apostles? Both questions . . . must be answered in the negative. All that can be proved is that Jesus had gathered about him a number of avaricious men who were guilty of treachery and faithlessness to their master. Was this the effect of teachings which are boasted as unequalled in their sublimity?" "The teachings of Jesus Christ appear to be defective when compared with the teachings of the Holy Koran."

Indeed, Jesus is declared to be inferior even to Ahmad himself. "The Messiah of the Moslem line is greater than the Messiah of the Mosaic line." "Almighty God bestowed His grace upon me to a far greater extent than upon Jesus." Thus to rank Jesus below the Mirza Ghulam Ahmad would not seem to be the most successful method of commending to westerners the cause of Islam; but such teaching is the logical outcome of the founder's claims.

While Jesus himself is treated with less respect than would usually be accorded him by the orthodox Moslem, Christian doctrines are denied or derided with an emphasis familiar among all Mohammedans. The doctrines of the Atonement and the Incarnation are of course especially obnoxious. "Woe to the Christians," writes Ahmad, "who deceive the world by saying that they have been purified of their sins by the blood of Jesus, whereas they are soaked in sin from head to foot. They do not know who their God is." "How absurd is the doctrine of salvation invented by the Christians. They think that the suicide of the son of Mary has brought them to the door of salvation, whereas they know it as a matter of fact that they are involved in a narrow and dark hell of sin." Again, we read of how the Christians "deified a weak mortal," whose "supposed divinity should be brought to naught." Indeed, Ahmad believed that "the greatest evil to-day is the pernicious doctrine that the son of Mary is the Son of God or God Himself. . . . This setting up of the son of a woman as God is the most malignant cancer that is eating into the frame of the human race, and it was to root out this cancer that the Promised Messiah came into this world." If this last statement may be taken at its face value, the anti-christian tendency of the Ahmadiya sect is due partly to the fact that its founder's chief aim was to overthrow orthodox Christianity.

How closely connected was the advancement of Ahmad's own claims with the overthrow of the claims of Christ we may gauge by the fact that one of the earliest tenets given by him to his followers was the denial of Jesus' death on the cross and his subsequent resurrection. Much was made of this dogma during Ahmad's lifetime, but it has since receded into the back-

ground in the published material even of the Qadian sect. It plays so small a part in present propaganda that it will be sufficient to state it briefly and to indicate the few references to it that may be found in the leading text-book, "Ahmad," still issued to enquirers.

Ahmad asserted, says Mr. Walter, that "Jesus did not die on the cross, but was taken down by his disciples in a swoon, and healed within forty days by a miraculous ointment. . . . He then travelled to the East on a mission to the ten lost tribes of . . . Israel, believed by Ahmad to be the peoples of Afghanistan and Kashmir, and finally died at the age of one hundred and twenty and was buried in Khan Yar Street in Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir." It was with this teaching in mind that Ahmad wrote such lines as these: "The death of Jesus [i. e., his natural death] is the door to my claim. It is the foundation and my claim is the superstructure." Jesus' later natural death "is a truth which the world will soon recognize, and then will be sounded the death-knell of Christianity. . . . God has ordained that the tomb of Jesus [in Srinagar] should also prove the grave of Christianity."

In the exposition so far given we have used the three books cited in the foot-note above. These volumes are still supplied to enquirers at the London mosque and our evidence is therefore drawn from authoritative publications which are fairly up-to-date. But the Qadian party also publishes a magazine, "The Review of Religions," issued monthly in London. Since its recent numbers bring us more close to the present date, it will be worth while to note something of their content and tendency.

Typical articles in this periodical are these: — a full description of the ceremonies at the opening of the Southfield mosque, items or essays concerning "Prohibition in America," the failure of Sunday observance in Christian lands, the decline of the birth-rate in England and birth control, parthenogenesis as a physiological phenomenon, "Christ *versus* Christianity," "Islam in America," "Prayer-Book Revision," "The Conception of One God," "Decay of Christianity and Buddhism," etc. The general tone of these contributions is naturally much more

accommodating, their material less dogmatic and alien than the utterances of Ahmad or even of his successors. Ahmad is still referred to in July 1927 as "The Promised Messiah"; and Mississippi floods, the solar eclipse, and an earthquake in China are all mentioned as indicating that this is the Great Age in which he was to appear. But a tendency is observable to use more frequently the titles of "Prophet" and "Reformer of this Age," which are plainly more palatable to English hearers. As to Christianity, the Moslem missionaries assert that they feel and show "no enmity." Jesus is recognized as a great prophet in fulfilment of whose prophecies Ahmad came. They insist, however, that Christianity has proved to be a failure and that its power and prestige are waning. "The future religion of England," it is declared, "will be anything but Christianity." One reason for this decline is that the ethics of Jesus are so idealistic as to be quite unpractical. The contrast between their impossible demands and the common-sense laws of Islam is often urged upon readers. The teachings of Jesus, furthermore, were merely of local value. In fact, "the real trouble with Christianity is that it cannot keep pace with the rapidly changing conditions of mankind, and no amount of adaptation can enable it to do so." But for their own religion the claim is made that "there is no strict regulation of Islam which is not applicable to the present time. . . . We believe that the various ills that are undermining the very foundations of the so-called civilized society can be cured through Islam alone." In keeping with this belief Islam is now presented even by the Qadian sect in a form increasingly simple, with emphasis upon features which will appeal to the modern westerner. Islam, for instance, "is the religion of Abraham plus the religion of Jesus minus the teachings of Paul." It is elsewhere defined as "the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man" — always a safe description. And "its teachings are scientific and reasonable." Mutual love and tolerance is preached and "Islam" is defined as meaning "peace" and as opposed to war.

Yet how little the Qadian party has officially changed its teachings in recent years may be observed by a comparison of its official creed (at least ten years old) and the statement of

“Principles” published in “The Review of Religions” for February, 1927. Where the two are alike, their language is identical, so that differences are evidently deliberate. On the following tenets both creeds agree: the unity of God, the existence of angels, apostles and their function, Mohammed the seal of the prophets, the miracles of the prophets, the perfect Koran, divine decrees and prayer, the resurrection, heaven and hell. The only article in the old creed which is omitted in the new is that which refers to Ahmad as the Promised Messiah and Mahdi. In the new statement he is given no higher titles than those of “Prophet” and “Reformer of this Age.” But, despite this one simplification, the “Principles” of 1927 contain more material than the traditional creed. Articles have been added denying eternal punishment, denying the doctrine of abrogation in the Koran, denying the doctrine of the bloody *jihad*, denying the death by crucifixion, the resurrection, and the ascension of Jesus, together with a long paragraph affirming the value of the caliphate as the ideal form of government.

Despite a few signs of wavering, the Qadiani are clearly distinguished by fidelity to the beliefs of their founder and by either reluctance or incapacity to denature or adapt dogmas — whether of orthodox Islam or of the Ahmadiya — to the supposed needs of educated westerners. The Qadiani are, on the whole, less clever than sincere.

II

THE LAHORE PARTY

Although historically the Lahore group is the liberal wing of the Ahmadiya Movement, it has departed so far from the teachings of its founder that it now repudiates the name of Ahmadiya. It prefers to identify Ahmadi with Qadiani and to deny all connection — financial or creedal — with Qadian. Only a few words in a few of their publications make any reference to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, and even these references do not press his claims. Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din, until recently the distinguished head of the Moslem Mission at Woking, speaking in 1911, referred to Ahmad as “an apostle of Islam” who “ap-

pealed to Moslems as Mahdi, to Christians in the person of the Promised Messiah, and to Hindus in the capacity of Lord Krishna." But these titles are mentioned only biographically as expressing Ahmad's claims. In 1921, Muhammad Ali, the president of the Lahore Society, referred to Ahmad as the Reformer of the Present Age (due in the fourteenth century after the hegira), and added that he "was called a Messiah." Writing in April 1927, however, the acting Imam of the mosque at Woking declares that "the Woking Mosque is not Ahmadi . . . the Woking Mosque deprecates in very strong terms the idea that the late Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was a Prophet of God." Moreover, in the published works of British converts, few, if any, references to Ahmad are to be found. In other words, whatever its pedigree, the Lahore party is now simply a modern liberal missionary group, much more adaptable and sophisticated than its sister sect and showing a snobbish anxiety to remove all traces of its humble origin. The student will note its likeness to the liberal group represented by Ameer Ali, to whose influential work it is undoubtedly indebted. In reviewing its present propaganda in English, we shall look first at what it says on behalf of Islam and then at what it says against Christianity.

The claims which are made in favor of Islam are obviously determined less by a study of that religion and its history than by a study of what will appeal to the westerner, for the Woking missionaries "aim to please." According to their noted leader Kamal-ud-Din, "Before the advent of Islam, the notion of the Deity entertained by man was somewhat hideous." "Prayers, hymns, ceremonials, and offerings were their chief aim, while sacrifices propitiated the Divine anger." But "Islam came with a new conception of religion." This contrast would be hard to understand if we were not elsewhere told that "Islam . . . dawned upon humanity from the very beginning; it was the religion of Adam and of all the prophets following him." Indeed, "it is the religion of every prophet of God who appeared in any part of the world at any period of the world's history." To prove Islam "the cosmopolitan religion," the koranic saying, "We have sent in every nation an apostle," is stretched,

beyond all Moslem reason, to include such ill-assorted figures as Buddha, Confucius, and Krishna. To support the quite heretical contention that these pagan religions are only Islam under another name, Kamal-ud-Din forges a quotation from the Koran which refers in charitable terms to the Vedas and the Gita ("Four Lectures on Islam," Lahore, n.d., pp. 5f.). This particular piece of impudence seems not to have been repeated, for it occurs only in an address at *Allahabad* in 1911. More suited to Western needs is the frequent assertion that Islam is the same as *true* Christianity. "Islam . . . is in very truth Christianity shorn of the man-made dogmas." Christ himself "was a true Musalman." "The religion taught by Jesus himself was Islam." Yet, though "all religions have divine revelation as the common basis from which they start," Islam (in the narrower sense) "claims to be the final and most perfect expression of the will of God." Though a British convert declares that "all the prophets command equal respect from us and we make no distinction in our allegiance to them," he adds almost at once, "we receive all our inspirations and guidance from the Koran and the sayings of the Prophet." And the supremacy of Mohammed is by all the writers unmistakably asserted. "He was a man towering . . . far above any of his contemporaries, predecessors, or successors." Unlike all others, he was not a national, but a World Prophet. "Among all the reformers of the world Mohammed . . . occupies the highest position because not a minute of his life was spent for any object other than the service of humanity." Furthermore, he is not only the greatest but the last of the prophets.

The Koran is of course supreme among sacred books. "No other sacred book has remained free from human alloy." "The treasures of Wisdom met with in the Holy Koran would be sought in vain in the Gospels." "It is unique in literature, the most original book in the world." Its perfection constitutes it a miracle — the final revelation.

The Moslem missionaries, however, are not content to assert authoritatively the superiority of their religion, their prophet, and their book. They are more concerned to express that superiority in popular terms that will persuade the modern

western mind. We read, therefore, that "Islam is a religion of Humanity, Toleration, and Progress." "The religion of Mohammed is the progress of the human race in the free light of the Eternal Unity." The precise meaning of these sentences is less plain than the effort they embody to give the public what it wants. But in regard to "progress," the writers are ready with definite details. They not only try to refute the proposition that Islam is unprogressive but press on to the positive assertion that Islam is the source of nearly all modern progress. "By emancipating Reason, Mohammed paved the way for the miracles that followed in learning, science, commerce, industry, and the mingling of humanity." "Our present civilization is very largely due to the benefits and results of Islamic culture in Spain, Sicily, and the Near East." "At the Reformation came intellectual freedom and emancipation, nourished and developed by Islamic thought and influence." Dazzling pictures are given of Moslem civilization at its height. "Islam thus introduced into the modern world civilization, philosophy, the arts, and the sciences." In fact, "the greatest boon that Islam conferred on humanity was the unique stimulus it gave to learning." And "in social reforms the faith of Islam has achieved results as wonderful as in the realms of education and science." The present mental lethargy in Moslem countries is only "the result of historical circumstances" having no connection with Islam.

In keeping with a religion identified with progress, Islam is advertised as the most rational of all religions — indeed the only rational religion. A "special feature of Islam is the rational basis on which it explains all the truths it inculcates." It is "the faith which is least hampered by improbabilities or absurdities," for "it inaugurated the reign of intellectual liberty." "Islam . . . prescribes free thinking as a duty for believers." "Nothing which happens in the natural world, no fresh discovery of science, can shake the faith of the true Moslem." In other words, "Men are seeking a living faith. . . . In Islam, steadfast and unchanging, standing high above . . . the sudden disconcerting blasts of scientific discovery, they may, if they will, find it." "Islam gives every one perfect freedom."

The modern mind is opposed to dogmas and to sects. Islam is therefore presented quite unblushingly as a religion without dogmas or sects. Writes an English convert (the quality of whose mind would indicate that his wish was sincere): "I wanted a simple, practical faith, free from dogmas and tenets. . . . This I found in Islam." And his Imam confirms him with the words, "Islam does not believe in rituals and ceremonials as essentials in religion, nor does it inculcate any dogma." Best of all, it is free from sectarian divisions. "Islam remained always above sections and heresies . . . above divisions and innovations." For "to divide the holders of these two opinions [Sunnis and Shias] into two sects . . . is simply to evince ignorance."

As becomes a tolerant and progressive religion without tenets or sects, Islam is essentially practical. Its teachings are such as can readily be applied in the lives of real men and women. Here, as we shall see later, it is in contrast with the impossible idealism of Christianity. "Islam is a perfect code of life to regulate your daily conduct and make you a useful citizen of the world. It gives you certain principles to guide your life and enjoins upon you certain practices to bring those principles into actions." "The Koran contains rules of guidance for all the stages through which man has to pass in the onward march from the condition of the savage to that of the highly spiritual man." Instead of extreme commands which ignore human nature, it points out "the middle path." Among the virtues inculcated by Islam are mentioned chastity, honesty, meekness, politeness, forgiveness, courage, patience, sympathy, kindness, and charity. Special prominence, however, is naturally given to the teaching of universal brotherhood in Islam. "Democracy, the chief boast of the West, had its birth in Islam. Equality between man and man is its basic principle, and it is observed to its full extent in every form of life in Moslem countries." "Islam has succeeded in welding black and white into one family" in accordance with "the strong spirit of fraternal equality which exists between the Faithful," for "in Islam religion and not nationality is the first consideration." "This religion has succeeded, where Christianity has failed, in uniting

men of different color happily and equally in one society." And Islam not only ignores racial distinctions but "abolishes all invidious class distinctions."

In addition to presenting Islam as positively and attractively as possible, the Working missionaries and their English converts are ready to defend Islam against familiar attack. Among the minor accusations which they attempt to refute are the assertions that Moslem law prescribes the death penalty for apostasy and that Islam inculcates fatalism. Far more space, however, is devoted to meeting the graver and commoner charges that Islam is a war-like religion and that it degrades womanhood. Not content in this controversy with a merely apologetic attitude, the defendants make the claim that Islam is essentially a peaceful religion and that it has done more than any other to elevate womanhood. All the wars of Islam, we are told, were strictly defensive. Warfare, when it has occurred, has been conducted humanely. "Neither massacre nor any harshness towards non-combatants is allowed in Moslem warfare." Islam has never spread its teachings by the sword, for "of all religions Islam stands conspicuous in establishing a perfection of religious freedom." Fortunately, too, "Islam encourages peaceful relations between its followers and the adherents of other religions." Indeed, "Islam is the surest guarantee of peace." The very word *Islam*, they say, means "the making of peace."¹ As to woman, "Islam raised her from the lowest status to equality with man." The Prophet's teaching established perfect equality of the sexes. "From the lowest degradation he raised woman to a position beyond which she could only go in theory." It was "a height which leaves her nothing higher for which to strive." Islam "opens to her equal possibilities with man of intellectual, moral, and spiritual progress." In this respect the record of Islam is much better than that of Christianity. By attributing the fall of man to the action of Eve, Christian doctrine "is responsible for female debasement." St. Paul, followed by many later Christian saints

¹ To these general assertions may be added the definite tenet of all Ahmadis (even of the Lahore type) that the British Government in India is beneficent and must be loyally supported.

and theologians, spoke of women in most derogatory terms. "This condition of things has continued with modifications up to the present day, when woman has at last begun to assert herself." Hence it is not surprising that "woman's position in the Moslem world is far better than it is in Christian countries." Or, as another convert puts it, "a Western home is not a commendable home for woman. . . . But a Moslem home opens the door of quite a different life." Such glowing generalizations are frequent in the literature of Moslem propaganda. Much harder to find is any careful treatment of marriage and divorce in Islam. One pamphlet of thirty-seven pages on "Woman in Islam," which devotes much space to Adam and Eve, omits all consideration of marriage and divorce on the plea that there is not sufficient time to enter into these questions. Whenever the problems are dealt with, polygamy is defended as necessary at certain times. (It is even asserted that "until the sixteenth century the whole of Christendom was polygamous"!) Mohammed, who "was particularly self-restrained and chaste," unselfishly married "a great many of the widows of those of his adherents who had fallen in battle, not because he had the slightest desire for them, but in order to provide them with a home." His followers, however, must confine themselves to four wives, and even this degree of polygamy is not encouraged. Among the happy results of this Moslem social system is the fact that illicit sexual intercourse is "to a great extent unknown in the East" and that "divorce is very rare in Moslem countries."

The Ahmadiya Movement, including the emancipated Lahore group, is not only pro-islam. It is also deliberately and actively anti-christian. Ranging from mild doubts to bitter onslaughts, the opposition to Christianity includes its founder, its history, and its doctrines.

Though it is of course conceded that Jesus was one of the great prophets, most references to him are slightly disparaging in tone. We are told, to begin with, that his teachings were not reduced to writing till a hundred and fifty years after his death and that the record is altogether unreliable. But it is sufficient to indicate that he was a purely local prophet, and that during his brief ministry he accomplished very little.

"The mere fact that Jesus was unable to bring about any transformation worth the name, and to make any impression either on his friends or foes, is a sufficient testimony that the stories of miracles were invented afterwards." "The poorness of the result attained by Jesus Christ . . . becomes the more prominent when compared with the wonderful results attained by the great World Prophet that appeared in Arabia." One of the chief reasons for Jesus' meagre achievements is the fact that he was a visionary whose teachings were quite impractical. The "gentle and beautiful precepts" of this "dreamer" are of small use in this work-a-day world. "The prime need of the world is not the ideal in its abstract form but . . . the laying down of . . . practical rules and guidances." Yet, with all his limitations, Jesus represents the best element in Christianity. For Ahmadis are fully aware of the modern habit of contrasting Christ and Christianity, and make full use of the opening it affords. "*Islam and Christianity as taught by Christ Himself* are sister religions." But, beginning with St. Paul, the purity of true Christianity has been increasingly contaminated. "The religion of Christ is not quite the religion of St. Paul, who seems to have added to it and altered it very considerably, and various authorities have interpreted these later teachings and varied them from time to time." Pagan elements crept in — a process fully explained in Kamal-ud-Din's "*Sources of Christianity*," in which the author quotes heavily from Robertson's "*Pagan Christs*." Similar lessons are taught in the Imam's "*Religion of Jesus and Traditional Christianity*," which proves "that the religion taught by Jesus was entirely distinct from current Christianity." The same writer declares: "I . . . would rather be an atheist than accept a god whose character and attributes received their Epiphany in the Manger and on the Cross. I would rather be an agnostic than to know of God through Christian theology."

The Christian doctrines which seem to these Moslems plainly in contrast with the religion of Jesus form the subject of much severe comment in Ahmadi publications. The Athanasian Creed is an especially popular target. Noting, as Matthew Arnold once remarked, that it is "learned science with a strong

dash of temper," they find it delightfully vulnerable. The points which are specifically attacked, in the creed and elsewhere, include doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Original Sin (always contrasted with Moslem belief that "every child is born sinless"), Infant Damnation, and the Atonement. The ideas of propitiation "by cruelty and shedding of blood," "ransom from sin," vicarious punishment, and the like are viewed as peculiarly odious. Such opinions are, of course, typically Moslem. On several other points, however, the peculiar tenets of the Ahmadiya Movement appear. Contrary to the usual interpretation of the Koran, the Virgin Birth, the death by Crucifixion, and the Ascension are denied. But the "swoon theory" is seldom alluded to in Woking or Lahore propaganda, and nothing is ever said about the tomb of Jesus in Khan Yar Street, Srinagar.

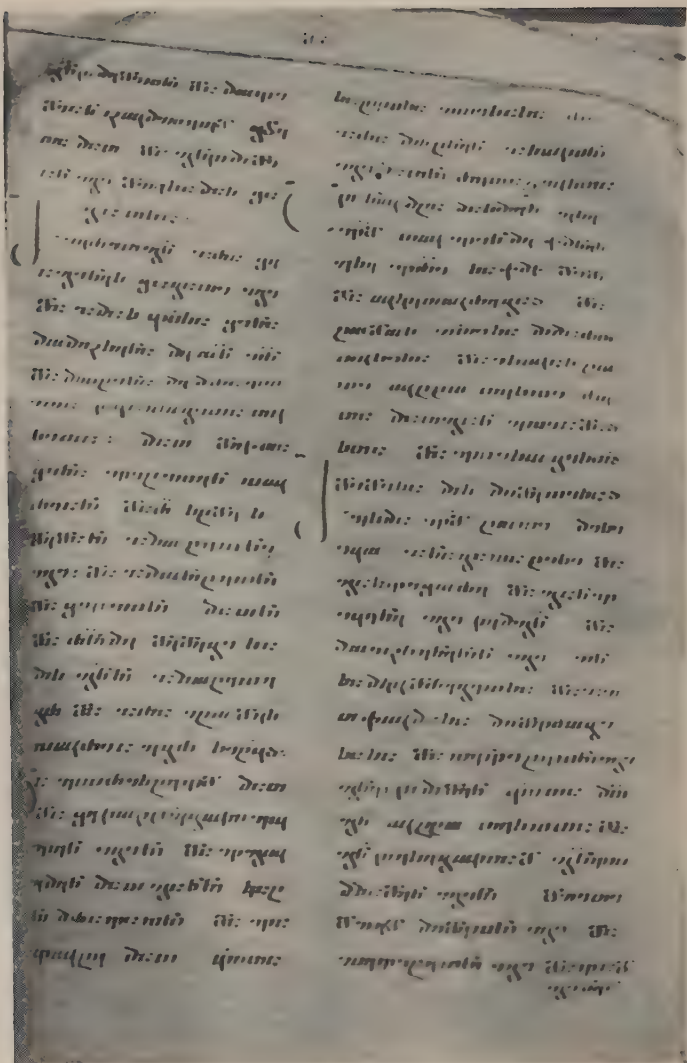
The departure of Christianity from Christ may be seen not only in the history of doctrine but also in the moral record of Christendom. The Crusades, the Inquisition, the Thirty Years' War, Spanish cruelty in the New World — all these are cited to show how un-christian Christianity has always been. Its moral failure and its incredible doctrines easily account for its present decline. Everywhere its power and influence are obviously waning.

As a saving alternative to a Christianity so fallen on evil days the Moslem mission at Woking offers a simplified Islam. According to a leaflet issued in 1927, no formal statement of belief is required other than the ancient creed now phrased in this fashion, "I worship One and only Allah (God) alone . . . I believe Mohammed to be His messenger and servant." Nevertheless, in at least six different publications seven "Articles of Faith" are stated to be those of Islam, and one citation is accompanied by a statement from the Imam Kamal-ud-Din that "one cannot become a Moslem unless he believes in all of them." But since this is too dogmatic an attitude for "a religion without tenets" to assume, one may be certain that it would not be rigidly maintained in practice.

The Seven Articles of Faith are these: 1. Allah; 2. Angels; 3. Sacred Books; 4. Divine Messengers; 5. The Hereafter;

6. Measurement of Good and Evil by God; 7. The Resurrection. The insistence upon angels shows more respect for tradition and less for public opinion than is usual with Working Moslems. In dealing with heaven and hell, however, orthodoxy is rationalized. Heaven and hell are not places but states. "Life after death is only a continuation of the life below." "The punishment of hell is . . . an image of the spiritual tortures of this life." "Service of God is paradise." Physical objects in the Moslem paradise or hell are only "metaphorical expressions." And it is even asserted that Islam knows nothing of eternal punishment. To these Articles of Faith are added the famous Five Pillars, an exposition of which may be found in several of the most recent publications. Details as to prayer and fasting are not given — still less pressed — but alms-giving is said to involve the donation in charity of two and one half per cent of one's income.

In contrast with the Qadian sect, the Lahore group, as we have seen, is reluctant to admit any connection with the Ahmadiya Movement. Its leaders, especially in England, are eager to adapt their message to the convictions or the fashions of the present hour and to exploit the ignorance of their audience by making any assertions that will favor their cause. Intellectually more acceptable than the Qadiani, they inspire less respect, for one usually prefers the naïve and narrow-minded to the sophisticated and slippery. In contrast to the Qadiani, they are, on the whole, more clever than sincere.



Codex Athous Hibernicus, Vol. I, f. 479r. Nehemiah xiii, 22-30

THE ATHOS CODEX OF THE GEORGIAN OLD TESTAMENT

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GEORGIAN literature, if it must yield the palm to the Armenian for extent and variety of content, is in at least one respect distinctly superior to its neighbor. A large body of extremely ancient manuscripts have survived, which have preserved to us a highly diversified series of texts. And in general the oldest Georgian manuscripts usually contain the most valuable material. This is true of the Old Testament; the most complete, and on the whole the best, surviving manuscript of that is likewise the oldest. About this manuscript much has been written, but hardly anything has been published from it, and, strangely enough, no detailed description of it has ever appeared. The account herewith presented rests on a careful personal study of the entire codex in the original and in photographs.

This famous manuscript was written for the noted Georgian general T'ornik (in monastic life Iovaney) Ćordvaneli in the year 978. T'ornik, whose paternal estates lay near Zarzma in southern Georgia, had had, like so many others of his contemporaries and fellow-countrymen, a long and glorious career in the Byzantine imperial army.¹ Towards the end of his life he returned to Georgia and became a monk.² He had been very

¹ On T'ornik, see A. Natroiev, *Иверскій Монастырь на Аѳонѣ*, Tiflis, 1909, pp. 32-48 (not accessible to me here); G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du X^e siècle*, I, Paris, 1896, pp. 418 ff.; P. Peeters, *Histoires monastiques géorgiennes*, Bruxelles, 1923, pp. 18 f.; 161 f.; თ . ჟორდანია, *ქრწნიკები და სხვა მახალა საქართველს ისტორიისათვის*, Tiflis, 1892, I, pp. 107 ff.; E. S. Takaishvili in *Сборникъ матеріаловъ по описанію мѣстностей и племень Кавказа*, 35 (1905), pp. 1-80 and also Countess P. S. Uvarova in *Матеріалы по археологіи Кавказа*, IV, Moscow, 1894, pp. 48-60. T'ornik received the title of *патрікиос*, on the significance of which see J. B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century*, 1911, pp. 27-28, 124.

² Peeters, pp. 18-19.

close to John the Athonite, who had entered monastic life, and he went to Bithynia to find him. On discovering that John had left the Bithynian Olympus and had betaken himself to the new monastic omphalos of Mt. Athos,³ T'ornik proceeded thither and discovered him, thereby revealing the identity which John had hitherto carefully concealed.⁴ This appears to have taken place somewhere about the year 970.⁵ Whether T'ornik was the brother of John, as Žordania and Bak'radze try to make out, is by no means certain, but that they were related is highly probable.⁶

The codex was written for T'ornik at the lavra of Oška in the year 978.⁷ It is impossible that this Oška should have been on Mt. Athos, for since John was the first Georgian to come to the Holy Mount, there can have been no collection of Georgian manuscripts at the beginning of monastic settlements.⁸ Where could the archetype have been found from which the codex was copied? It could only have been written away from the mountain and in Georgian territory. The "abode of John the Baptist" could perhaps refer to Iviron itself, which in early times bore the name of this saint, but there is no evidence whatever that the name of Oška was ever applied to it, either by the Georgians or by anyone else. We should also note that the text of the life of John and Euthymius says that T'ornik's

³ Peeters, p. 19; these facts are contained in the biography of John and Euthymius, written by George the Athonite between the years 1040 and 1050 A.D. Concerning this document see კ. კეკელიძე, ქართული ლიტერატურის ისტორია, ტომი 1 (ტფილისი, 1923), p. 233; Peeters, pp. 1 ff., and note 19 below.

⁴ Peeters, p. 19.

⁵ The date is not given in the life but may be determined approximately. The successful campaign of T'ornik and Bardas Phocas against Skleros falls in the spring of the year 978; T'ornik was on Athos the previous year, and had already been there for some years. Kekelidze has worked out that John took Euthymius from Constantinople to the Bithynian Olympus about the year 965 (Kekelidze, p. 183). He did not leave Olympus immediately, and had been on Athos about three years when T'ornik came thither. These considerations lead me to fix the date approximately at the year 970.

⁶ Žordania, p. 108; see Takaishvili, pp. 19 ff.

⁷ See below, p. 52-3; the proper spelling of the name is ოშკა Oška, not ოშქა Ošk'a, as Žordania gives it: Tsagareli has the correct form (Свѣдѣнія о памятникахъ грузинской письменности, выпускъ 1, St. Petersburg, 1886, p. 91).

⁸ Peeters, p. 19.

retreat was dedicated to St. John the evangelist.⁹ It is time that this literary ghost of an Athonite Oška be laid once for all. The only place where the manuscript can have been written is the famous monastery of Oška in Tao-Klardjet'ia, where the სამღობს 'Paradise,' or collection of the writings of St. John Chrysostom and of St. Ephrem Syrus, now on Athos, was also written for T'ornik in the year 977.¹⁰ T'ornik, who may very well have been a monk at Oška, evidently had a number of the best manuscripts in the library copied for him, and afterwards brought them, or had them sent, to Mt. Athos.

The first mention of our codex occurs in the life of St. John and St. Euthymius the Athonites, where it figures in a list of gifts made to the lavra of Iviron by T'ornik. We read: "Another book, in which were written all the ancient books, the prophets, and the books of Maccabees."¹¹ I see in this somewhat confused statement a description of our manuscript, which was originally in three volumes, as we shall see below. That the books of Maccabees were included in it is a mistake, but this may well be an inexact reference to the Ketubim.¹² If this interpretation is correct, the manuscript was not yet bound in two volumes, nor had it suffered before the year 1050 A.D. the great losses which it now exhibits. These losses, I am inclined to think, took place sometime before the sixteenth century, for the majority of the memorials in the codex, which are rather late, are found toward what would be the beginnings and the ends of volumes, for instance Genesis, Job, Isaiah.¹³

⁹ Peeters, p. 19; Peeters has seen the difficulty, cf. *ibid.* note 4.

¹⁰ Cod. 69 of the Georgian collection at Iviron; Tsagareli, pp. 89-91.

¹¹ Peeters, pp. 25-26 and note 17. My translation differs somewhat from that of Peeters; the word სამწინაღმწამეტყუელად 'sacinayscarmetqueloy,' which he takes to mean *προφητολόγειον*, or lectionary of the prophets, I believe to mean the unabridged collection of prophetic writings. The only lectionary we have any trace of in Georgian before the time of George the Athonite (ca. 1040) is the Jerusalem calendar (K. S. Kekelidze, *Иерусалимскій Канонарь VII-го вѣка*, Tiflis, 1913). The word სსჯა 'another' is not repeated until after the word 'Maccabees.'

¹² The translation of the Maccabees, if it existed in Old Georgian, was probably not included in this ms., and in any case is now entirely lost. The text in the Moscow Bible (M) is translated from the Slavic.

¹³ Fifteenth to seventeenth century for the most part. They are of no special historical importance, and I have omitted them in order to save space.

The memorials are mostly late, and only one is dated — that of Philip, priest and monk, in 1567.¹⁴

The first definite information about the codex which became accessible to the learned world was derived from a copy of a catalogue of the Georgian mss. at Iviron, compiled by a Georgian monk, Ilarion.¹⁵ This monk had been the confessor of the last king of Imeretia, Solomon II, who was deposed by the Russians in 1810.¹⁶ Several mss. by Ilarion's hand (a rather rounded and unformed *nuskhuri*) are in the Ecclesiastical (now the Georgian University) Museum at Tiflis.¹⁷ He spent some time at Trebizond, where his royal patron was living in exile, and after the death of Solomon in 1815 lived for seven years at the lavra of Iviron on Mt. Athos.¹⁸ It was he, it may incidentally be noted, who presumably abstracted from Iviron the extraordinarily valuable Codex 559 (1074 A.D.) of the Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum, which contains the lives of St. Euthymius and St. George the Athonites, and also the *synodikoni*, or list of Georgian benefactors of Iviron.¹⁹ Apparently at the request of Prince Davit' Dadiani he compiled a partial catalogue of the Georgian collection in the monastery.²⁰ A copy of this text came into the hands of Brosset; he sent a French translation of it to Victor Langlois, who published it in 1867.²¹ In the meantime Plato Ioseliani, the well-known Georgian scholar of the middle of the last century, had visited Athos in the year 1848.²² Apparently he persuaded the monks

¹⁴ Vol. I, f. 384^r in the lower margin.

¹⁵ Tsagareli, p. vi.

¹⁶ On this matter see J. F. Baddeley, *The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus*, London, 1908, p. 78.

¹⁷ See Th. D. Žordania, *Описание рукописей церковного музея карталино-кахетинского духовенства*, II, Tiflis, 1902, p. 110 under no. 612.

¹⁸ Žordania, *Описание*, II, p. 110; Tsagareli, p. vi.

¹⁹ Published in full by M. Djanašvili and A. S. Khakhanov under the title *საოცნის ოცნების მონასტრის 1074 წ. ხელთნაწერი აღაპებით, თბილისი, 1901*.

²⁰ See Tsagareli, p. xviii.

²¹ V. Langlois, 'Notice sur le convent ibérien du Mont Athos,' in *Journal Asiatique*, sér. iv, IX, 1867, pp. 131-150.

²² See the article on Ioseliani in the *Православная Богословская Энциклопедия*, VII, 1906, cols. 493-498; also M. Brosset, *Rapport sur un voyage archéologique dans la Géorgie et dans l'Arménie*, St. Pétersbourg, 1851, 3^e livraison, pp. 129-130.

to let him take the manuscript to Tiflis, where two copies were made from it at the expense and under the direction of Prince Davit' Dadiani.²³ One of these (in large folio) was handed over to the Sion Cathedral in Tiflis, and is now in the Ecclesiastical Museum;²⁴ the other, later inherited by Prince N. D. Mingrel'skii, came ultimately into the possession of the Society for the Promotion of Literacy among the Georgians.²⁵ Professor A. A. Tsagareli came upon this second copy during his stay in Mingrelia in 1878; he gave a description (which is quite brief and inaccurate) of the ms., and also published the text of the Song of Solomon, which he had copied.²⁶ Before his book saw the light, however, he visited Athos and compiled a catalogue of the collection of Georgian mss. on the mountain;²⁷ in particular he gives a revised description of the Old Testament codex. Unfortunately he neglected to correct his copy of the text of the Song of Solomon by the original ms.; hence his printed text is exceedingly bad. Not merely has the orthography been remodelled, but a series of errors have crept in, due rather to the careless copyists than to Tsagareli himself.²⁸ Tsagareli also published for the first and only time the Georgian text of Ilarion's catalogue.²⁹ The description of the Athos ms. is careless and very superficial.³⁰

The next scholar to examine the ms. was N. Y. Marr in 1898. He gave a brief account of his work in the *Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction*, in which he stated what passages he had copied from the ms., and pointed out the defects of Tsagareli's edition.³¹ The codex was also inspected by A.

²³ This is to be inferred from the fact that the same group of scribes was working on both codices; Tsagareli, p. 6.

²⁴ Described in detail by Žordania, *Описание*, II, pp. 35-41, under no. 471.

²⁵ In 1884; Tsagareli, p. xiv; now Cod. 422 of the library; cf. დ . კარიჭაშვილი, კატალოგი ქართველთა შორის წერა-კითხვის გამავრცელებელის საზოგადოების წიგნთსაცავსა, ტფილისი, 1905, p. 15.

²⁶ Tsagareli, pp. 1 ff.; the text, *ibid.* Приложение, II, pp. 1-56.

²⁷ Tsagareli, pp. xix-xx; the catalogue, *ibid.* pp. 69-96. It is possible that Tsagareli's text had already been printed off, but the words are not quite definite.

²⁸ As a comparison of the copy with Tsagareli's text showed.

²⁹ Приложение, I, pp. 1-16.

³⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 69-75.

³¹ Журналъ Министерства Народнаго Просвѣщенія, Т. 322, March 1899, pp. 1 ff., esp. p. 13.

S. Khakhanov in 1902, but his investigations added little to our knowledge of it.³² A distinct step in advance was made by the Georgian scholar Th. D. Žordania, who in 1902 published a description of the Sion copy as Codex 471 of the Ecclesiastical Museum at Tiflis.³³ For the first time a reasonably detailed account of the lacunae in the ms. was given in print, although certain of his statements are incorrect and there are several disturbing misprints in the figures. In particular Žordania did not notice that the great lacuna in the Octateuch had been filled up from another ms.; attention was first called to this circumstance by the present writer.³⁴

In 1913 the entire ms. was photographed by the photostat process for the Russian Academy of Sciences, and the prints deposited in the Asiatic Museum at Leningrad. Professor A. G. Shanidze of the Georgian State University at Tiflis prepared in his student days at Petrograd an edition of Exodus from these photographs, and it was partially printed off but never completed. One chapter of Exodus was later published by him in a Tiflis periodical.³⁵ In 1920 Professor K. S. Kekelidze of the Georgian State University of Tiflis published the text of Ecclesiastes from the Sion copy, but with revised orthography in accordance with the norms of tenth-century Georgian mss.³⁶ In the summer of 1926 the second volume of the ms. was photographed on my behalf by Mr. G. R. Swain of the University of Michigan, assisted by his son and Rev. A. W. Johnson, and in 1927 photographic prints of the first volume were added,

³² He published a brief account of the ms. in the *Богословский Вѣстникъ* 12 (Ноябрь 1903), pp. 418-426; *Афонский списокъ грузинской Библии 978 г. и значеніе его для исправленія печатнаго текста.*

³³ See note 24 above; *Описаніе*, II, pp. 35-41.

³⁴ *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, July 1926, pp. 271-297.

³⁵ In the *შეგოდი მნათობი*, No. 1, 1926. My citation is from memory.

³⁶ Cor. Kekelidze, *Commentarii in Ecclesiastem Metrophanis Metropolitae Smyrnenensis. Monumenta Georgica; Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, No. 1, Tiflis, 1920 (georg.), pp. lxxx-lxxxi; text, *ibid.* pp. 180-226. A collation of this edition which I made with the photographs shows that the copy here is fairly good but has some omissions and misreadings; most of these are not of great importance. Kekelidze revised the orthography systematically in preparing his edition; the ms. is not consistent in its usage. It should be added here that a number of individual readings in the ms. are quoted and discussed by N. Marr in his various works.

taken by Professor K. Lake of Harvard, Rev. A. W. Johnson, and myself.

Description of the Manuscript

Ms. O = Athous Hibericus τῶν Ἱβήρων No. 1. Written at the monastery of Oška in Tao-Klardjet'ia in the year 978 A.D. for the great Georgian general T'ornik (Τορνίκιος, თორნიკიძე) by three scribes, Mik'el, Step'aney, and Ivaney.³⁷ Now bound in two volumes, containing respectively 532 folia and 428 folia. Fine white parchment of moderate thickness, for the most part very well preserved. Dimensions of the leaves 445 × 323 mm. Plain ruling with a sharp point on the hair side with single guard lines for the columns. Written in *nuskhuri*³⁸ in blackish-brown ink, in places rather pale, in two columns, each 330 × 102 mm., with an interval between them of 22 mm. 26 lines to the column in general, though here and there 25 and 27 occur. Large plain capitals outside of guard lines at the commencement of paragraph-divisions in the usual Georgian manner. The headings are mostly in capitals and in rather pale vermilion, but here and there carmine appears, and sometimes the headings are in *nuskhuri*. No illuminations or ornaments of any sort are met with. Both volumes are paged throughout in pencil in a modern hand by folia, vol. 1 in the lower central margin on the recto, vol. 2 in the upper outer corner on the recto.³⁹ With one or two exceptions the gatherings consist of quaternions of eight folia,⁴⁰ marked in Georgian capitals in the top central margin on fol. 1^r and in the centre of the lower margin on fol. 8^v. Vol. 1 exhibits in addition Greek quaternion signatures on fol. 1^r; in the Octateuch and in Job these are capitals of the proto-slavic type and are placed in the centre of the upper margin at the very edge of the leaf, while in the prophets they are in bold minuscule in the corresponding place in the lower margin.⁴¹ In both cases they are by the hand of the scribe.

³⁷ Vol. 2, fol. 429^r; see below, p. 52-3.

³⁸ Ecclesiastical minuscules.

³⁹ The pagination seems to be by the hands of the copyists.

⁴⁰ See below (on Judith), p. 44.

⁴¹ They do not run clear through the latter part of the book, but only partly through Jeremiah.

The punctuation (: : - only) is lax and illogically placed. The hands are not of the so-called Athonite type, but are rather like that of Codex 95 of the Ecclesiastical Museum at Tiflis, only more regular; they are difficult to distinguish, being very much alike. The heads of the letters upon the line are but slightly inclined to the right, and the tails below are less sharply bent and less angular than is the case in the Athonite hand proper. Both volumes are bound in a relatively late (Russian) binding of blackish-gray leather over boards with simple linear designs. The ms. was originally not divided into chapters and verses, but the incipits of chapters were marked (not always accurately) by the copyists in the fifties of the last century. These also noted the gaps in the ms., but did not always indicate gaps in the archetype.⁴²

The codex originally comprised the entire Old Testament with the exception of the Psalter, the books of Chronicles, and Maccabees.⁴³ It was made up of three volumes:

- I. Octateuch and Job.
- II. The four books of Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, Wisdom of Solomon, Sirach, and the Minor Prophets.
- III. Major Prophets, 1 Esdras, Ezra, Nehemiah, 4 Esdras, Esther, Judith, and Tobit (in another hand).

Each tome contained something over 400 folia. In the present condition of the ms. there have been lost:

- Vol. 1 (a) Genesis, $14 + 1 + 1 = 16$ folia.
 (b) Exodus, $1 + 4 + 8 + 8 = 21$ folia.
 (c) Leviticus 11, 45 to the end, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges 1, 1-19, 26; in all 28 quaternions = 224 folia.
 (d) Job 30, 27 to the end = 16 folia.
 (e) Isaiah, $8 + 6 + 5 + 15 = 34$ folia.

⁴² These notes are in pencil and are now smudged, so that most of them are practically illegible.

⁴³ Tsagareli (p. 3), in his account of the Dadiani copy says that it omits Ruth and Baruch. So far as Ruth is concerned he corrects this statement in his description of the original.

- (f) Jeremiah, 1 folium.
- (g) Ezekiel, 2 + 1 + 1 = 4 folia.
- (h) Judith, 4 folia.
- (i) Tobit, 2 ? folia.

- Vol. 2 (a) 1 Kings (1 Samuel), 4 folia.
 (b) 3 Kings (1 Kings), 7 folia.
 (c) Zechariah, 4 folia.

The total number of leaves lost is 322 folia from Vol. 1 and 15 from Vol. 2, so that there was a grand total of 1297 leaves in the original ms., while each volume must have contained approximately 432 folia or 54 quaternions. The text of certain books appears to have been fragmentary in the archetype. After the loss of the great section of the Octateuch, which seems to have taken place after the year 1050, sections I and III were bound together into a single volume. We now pass to the description of the volumes themselves.

Volume 1

(a) Genesis. Inc. (-def.) f. 1^r სახელითა უფლისათა: და წარმოვიდა აბრაჰამ და მოვიდა (12, 8). f. 2^r note in Greek in the lower margin that the ms. belongs to the lavra of Iviron and contains 518 folia: f. 2^v end of quaternion δβ'; hence 14 leaves are lost at the beginning of the ms., f. 3^r inc. qu. γγ': memorial of Petre Tablianidze, who copied the ms. (1841).⁴⁴ After f. 11^v gap of 1 folium (second leaf of qu. დδ' Gen. 20, 6-21, 11; after f. 53^v gap of 1 folium (fifth leaf of qu. თθ') Gen. 41, 57-42, 16. Des. Genesis f. 70^v.

(b) Exodus. Inc. f. 71^r. After folium 74^v gap of 1 folium (third leaf of qu. იბ იβ') Exodus 3, 15-4, 6; after folium 92^v gap of 4 folia (last three leaves of qu. იდ იდ' and first leaf of იე იე') Exod. 14, 12-16, 22: after fol. 107^v gap of 8 folia (all of qu. იზ ივ') Exod. 26, 8-30, 13: after fol. 113^v gap of 8 folia (qu. ით იθ' entire) Exod. 34, 3-37, 3. Des. Exodus f. 118^r.

(c) Leviticus. Inc. f. 118^v. Des. (def.-) f. 137^v at the end of qu. კბ კβ': რომელთა იძრვიან ქუეყანასა ზედა: რამეთუ ვარ

⁴⁴ On the copyists see Tsagareli, op. cit., pp. 6-7.

დმერთი თქუენი რუმელმან გამოიყვ|. With Levit. 11, 45 begins a great gap of 28 quaternions = 224 folia.

(d) Judges. Inc. -def. f. 138^r (qu. 5 ν' = 50) კაცნი იგი მის ადგილისანი იყვნეს პენი პენიამინისანი . . . (19, 16). Des. Judges f. 143^r: *ibid.* in red ქრისტე შეიწყალე თორნიკ

‘Christ, have mercy on T’ornik.’

(e) Ruth. Inc. f. 143^v: des. f. 148^v: *ibid.* colophon of scribe in Athonite *nuskhuri*: დიდებამ შენდა ქრისტეს ნათელს სამარადისო სულთა ჩუენთა განმანათლებელს გასრულდა წიგნი მერვს რუთისი: ქრისტე შეიწყალს მამამ იოვანს თორნიკ ყოვლილი: .

‘Glory unto thee, Christ, enduring light, illuminator of our souls. The eighth book of Ruth was finished: Christ, have mercy on Father Ivaney, who was T’ornik.’

(f) Job. Inc. f. 149^r. Chapter headings in red; a number of fairly ancient memorials in the margins, especially toward the end of the book. The last quaternion in Job is 56 $\nu\delta'$ (inc. f. 170^r): des. Job f. 176^v (30, 27); probably two quaternions have been lost. Here the original first volume ends.

(g) Isaiah. The original volume III now begins. Inc.-def. f. 177^r with qu. 5 β' (7, 2), hence a gap of eight leaves (qu. 5 α' : 1, 1-7, 2) precedes it. After f. 185^v a gap of six folia (last three leaves of qu. 5 β' and first three of 6 γ') Is. 10, 26-19, 1. After f. 186^v gap of five folia (first five folia of qu. 6 δ') Is. 22, 25-27, 8. After f. 205^v a gap: Is. 42, 19-44, 24; after f. 206^v a gap: Is. 45, 12-54, 11; 15 folia have been lost, including all of qu. 6 η' and all but one of qu. 6 ζ' ; f. 206 is probably fol. 4 or 5 of qu. 6 ζ' . Des. Isaiah f. 220^v.

Colophon in *nuskhuri*: დიდებამ შენდა ქრისტე დავსრულა წინადაწარმეტყუელებამ ესაიასი . ქრისტე შეიწყალე თორნიკ პატრიკი და გლახაკი მიქელ მწერალი ამენ:

‘Glory to thee, Christ! The prophecy of Isaiah is finished. O Christ, have mercy on T’ornik the patrikios and poor Mik’el the scribe! Amen.’

(h) Jeremiah. Inc. f. 22^v. After f. 262^v gap of one folium (first fol. of qu. 13 ϵ') Jer. 27, 1-16. Des. Jeremiah f. 308^v.

- (i) Baruch. Inc. f. 308^v; des. f. 315^r.
- (j) Lamentations. Inc. f. 315^v; des. f. 322^v.
- (k) Prayer (Baruch, ch. 5). Inc. f. 322^v; des. f. 323^r.
- (l) Letter (in ms. Prayer: Baruch, ch. 6). Inc. f. 323^r; des. f. 327^r.

(m) Ezekiel. inc. f. 327^v. All is in order up to f. 356^v (20, 24); the following leaves, however, are in disorder and certain gaps occur:

- f. 357^r–359^v; 22, 30–24, 8
- f. 360^{r-v}; 20, 24–20, 40
- f. 361^r; 21, 27–22, 3
- f. 361^v–363^r; missing from the photographs.
- f. 363^v–368^v; 26, 17–30, 5
- f. 369^{r-v}; 24, 9–27
- f. 370^r ff.; 30, 25 ff., and so on in order.

Hence the missing sections are:

- 20, 40–21, 27; 2 fol.
- 22, 13–30 (vv. 3–13 are evidently on f. 361^v); 1 fol.
- 24, 27–26, 17; 2 fol.
- 30, 5–25; 1 fol.

One double folium of this is evidently contained in f. 362^r–363^r, which is almost certainly 24, 27–26, 17. The proper order of the leaves is 356, 360//361//357–359//369//364–368, 370. Des. Ezekiel f. 399^r, after which follows the colophon of the scribe in Athonite *nuskhuri*: დიდებამ მცხნელსა და მაცხოვარსა ჩუენსა ღმერთსა: დაესრულა წინამსწარმეტყუელებამ ეზეკიელი: ქრისტე აღიდე თორნიკ პატრიკი შვილით ურთ ამჟნ: და გლახაკისა მიჰელ მწერლისა თჳს ღღვცა ყავთ: .

‘Glory to the liberator and Saviour our God: the prophecy of Ezekiel has been completed. O Christ, exalt the patricius T’ornik with his sons. Amen. And make a prayer for poor Mik’el the scribe.’

- (n) Daniel. Inc. f. 399^r; des. f. 429^r.
- (o) Ezra Zorobabeli (1 Esdras according to the Greek; 1 Esdras of the English version). Inc. f. 429^r; des. f. 456^v.
- (p) Ezra (2 Esdras of the Greek; canonical Ezra). The text is incomplete and badly mixed up, but the confusion would

seem to be attributable to the archetype, for the quaternion signatures show no gap. Inc. Ezra f. 456^v:

f. 456 ^v -457 ^r	Ezra 1, 1-2, 1
f. 457 ^v -458 ^r	Ezra 2, 1-25
f. 458 ^v -459 ^r	Ezra 2, 26-68
f. 459 ^v -460 ^r	Ezra 2, 68-3, 5, and then a repetition of 1 Esdras 8, 91-9, 1.
f. 460 ^v -461 ^r	again 1 Esdras 9, 1-22.

(q) Nehemiah is in confusion. I give the leaves in their proper order:

f. 468 ^v -469 ^r	Nehemiah 1, 1-2, 1
f. 462 ^v -463 ^r	Nehemiah 2, 1-2, 14
f. 466 ^v -467 ^r	Nehemiah 2, 15-3, 6
f. 464 ^v -465 ^r	Nehemiah 3, 8-4, 7
f. 465 ^v -466 ^r	Nehemiah 6, 1-6, 17
f. 463 ^v -464 ^r	Nehemiah 6, 18-7, 5: Ezra 2, 1-21 repeated.
f. 461 ^v -462 ^r	Ezra 1, 21-59
f. 467 ^v -468 ^r	Nehemiah 7, 61-8, 5
f. 469 ^v -470 ^r	Nehemiah 8, 5 and thenceforward in order.

Des. Nehemiah f. 480^v. The missing sections of Ezra and Nehemiah are Ezra 3.5 - fin. and Nehemiah 4, 7-6, 1; 7, 5-7, 61.

(r) 4 Esdras (2 Esdras of the English version). Inc. f. 480^v: des. f. 496^v. The text is fragmentary, but nothing has been lost from the ms. itself.

(s) Esther. Inc. f. 496^v. des. f. 510^v. The text is apparently fragmentary and in some disorder, but the gaps were in the archetype and nothing seems to have been lost from the ms. itself.

(t) Judith. Inc. f. 510^v. After f. 522^v gap of one folium (9, 4-10, 3): after f. 524^v gap of one folium (11, 22-12, 15): leaves 3 and 6 of quaternion $\partial\sigma\mu\theta'$ (originally a trinion) have been lost. After f. 527^v gap of one leaf (14, 17-15, 11); after f. 529^v gap of one leaf (16, 12-30); leaves 3 and 6 of qu. 5 ν' (a trinion) have been lost. Des. Judith def.- (16, 12) f. 529^v.

(u) Tobit. Inc.-def. f. 530^r (5, 3 ff.). Another hand, fairly large and somewhat rounded *nuskhuri*. Thin, bad parchment and different, brownish ink; 48 lines to the page; two columns. All three of the folia are torn and patched with paper. F. 531 should follow f. 532: f. 532^v is blank. Des. Tobit def.- f. 531^v (11, 8). The text is of the type of **8**. With Tobit the present first volume ends.

Volume 2

(a) 1 Kings (1 Samuel). Inc. f. 1^r. Hand very similar to that of Vol. 1. The quaternion signatures exhibit no contemporary Greek equivalents as in Volume 1, but are marked incorrectly in modern Greek minuscules $\delta = \alpha'$ and so on. On the lower margin of fol. 1^r is a note in Greek stating that the ms. belongs to the monastery of Iviron. After f. 33^v a gap of four folia, the middle conjugates of qu. ϵ 5 having been lost: 17, 39-19, 2 are missing. Des. I Kings f. 57^v; *ibid.* in red capitals: დიდებამ ღმერთსა დაესრულა პირველი თავი მეფეთაჲ.

(b) 2 Kings (2 Samuel). Inc. f. 57^v; des. f. 114^r without any indication.

(c) 3 Kings (1 Kings). Inc. f. 114^r without any heading: f. 117^v in red capitals: დიდებამ ღმერთსა დაესრულა თავი 3^o მეფეთაჲ: ქრისტე შეიწყალე თორნიკ სჯნგელოზი და შვილნი მისნი ამენ: .

'Glory to God. The second chapter of Kings is finished: O Christ, have mercy upon T'ornik the syncellus and his sons! Amen.'

then come the heading and the continuation of the text of 3 Kings, beginning with ch. 2, 2. F. 123^v end of qu. α 3 4'; f. 124-130 of the ms. are missing, that is, folia 1 to 7 of qu. α 3 4' (4, 11-8, 32) are lost. F. 171^r des. 3 Kings.

(d) 4 Kings (2 Kings). In red capitals: დაესრულა წიგნი მეფეთაჲ მესამე თავი: ქრისტე შეიწყალე თორნიკ იოვანს:

'The book of Kings, the third chapter has been finished: O Christ, have mercy on T'ornik Iovaney!'

Inc. f. 171^r; des. f. 219^v. F. 219 is the last leaf of qu. β 6 7'. At the end of the text there follows a colophon:

დიდებად ღმერთსა დაესრულა წიგნი მეფეთაჲ გელითა გლახაგისა სტეფანწსითა: საყუარელნო თუ დაკლებამ რამ მე იყოს შემიდნვეთ და კხენებულმცა ვარ წმიდათა შინა ღოგვათა თქუენთა ამჲს ამჲს | (f. 219^v) ქ ქრისტე იესუ ადიდე სულიერად თორნიკ სჯგელოზი და შვილნი მისნი:

იესუ ქრისტე ადიდე იოვანე გელახისი სულიერად და შვილნი მისნი უკუნისამდე ქამთა ამჲს იყავნ:

დაიწერა წმიდამ ესე წიგნი ლავრასა შინა დიდსა ოშკს საყუელსა წმიდისა ნათლის მცემელისასა საღოგველად სულ კურთხეულისა თორნიკ სჯგელოზისა თჳს და შვილთა მისთა: მოწყალეო ღმერთო უხუად მიაწიჳე სულსა მათსა ამჲს:-

ქ. საყუარელნო გულს მოდგინებამ ფრიად მაქუს და განა (sic) წერადგა ესთენ ვიცოდე ღმრთისა თჳს შემინდვეთ ოდეს ამას წიგნსა ვწერდი გონებითა ვერ დაწყნარებით ვიყავ

შრომისა თჳს და ღოგვა ყავთ და კლებისა თჳს შემინდვეთ . ქრისტე მიწვენე ორთა ვე სუფევათა ში(ნა)

მიქელ მე ვარაწვაჩეხი დიდი სიტკბებამ მიჩუენეს ამის წიგნისა შრომასა

ბრძენისა კაცისა ყოველი სოფელი ყოვლისა თჳს სოლო უგუნურისა არცა ერთი დანგი

წმიდანო მამანო მთაწმიდელნო გლახაგი ამის მშრომელი ღოგვასა წმიდასა მომიცხენეთ:

'Glory to God! The book of Kings has been completed by the hand of the miserable Step'aney. Beloved, should there be any drawback, forgive me, and may I be commemorated in your holy prayers. Amen. Amen. Jesus Christ, exalt Iovane the son of Gelasi spiritually and his sons unto eternity of time. Amen. So be it. This holy book was written in the great lavra of Oška in the abiding place of the holy Baptist as a prayer-offering for the wholly blessed T'ornik and for his sons. O compassionate God, bestow bounteously upon their souls! Amen.

Beloved, I had great zeal, and although while copying I sinned so much, for God's sake forgive me. When I was writing this book, I was not in full possession of my senses.

Because of the work, both pray for me and for the faults forgive me. Christ, aid me in both kingdoms. Have mercy on Mik'el the son of Varasvače. Great kindness they showed me while I worked on this book. For a wise man the whole world is for every one, but for the foolish one not a single farthing. O holy fathers of the Sacred Mountain, remember the miserable writer of this in your prayer!'

The colophon is written in capitals for the most part, each paragraph being in a different type of hand, but by the same scribe, and with the use in alternate paragraphs of red and black ink. The letters become smaller and smaller until they are microscopic in size. The type of the capital letters is interesting, being similar to that used in certain of the Sinai mss. (for instance, in the psalters).

F. 220 is missing, but was evidently merely the binding-leaf of the second half of the volume.

(e) Proverbs (აგავნი სოლომონისნი); no quaternion mark. Inc. f. 221^r; crude interlaced ornament in the lower margin. F. 227^v end of qu. ა; f. 230^r in red capitals: აგავნი სოლომონისნი ღრმა და ძნიად სათარგმანებელ არიან:

‘The proverbs of Solomon are deep and hard to translate (end of ch. 9).’

F. 241^r a pencil note that 18, 23–19, 2 are lacking in the ms. F. 250^v: 25, 1 in red; note in pencil that this is lacking in the printed text. F. 257^v des. Proverbs; in red capitals: დაესრულა იგავთაჲ გელითა გლახაკისა გიორგი გელასის ძისაჲთა:

‘Proverbs was completed by the hand of the miserable Giorgi Gelasisdze.’

(f) Ecclesiastes. Inc. f. 258^r; *ibid.* ქრისტე ადიდე იოვანე (*ter*) შვილით ურთ და ჩემ თჳს ღოცვა ყავთ: ეკლესიაჲსტე წიგნი მეორე .

‘O Christ, exalt Iovane (*thrice*) together with his sons, and make a prayer for me; Ecclesiastes the second book.’

Des. Eccles. f. 271^r; in red capitals: დაესრულა ეკლესიაჲსტე უფალ მდიგსენე გიორგი:

‘Ecclesiastes has been finished; O Lord, remember Giorgi.’

(g) Song of Solomon: ქებაჲ ქებათაჲ თქმული სოლომონისი:

‘The Praise of Praises, a saying of Solomon.’

Inc. f. 271^r; des. f. 277^v; *ibid.* in black capitals: დიდებაჲ შენდა ღმერთო დაესრულა ქებაჲ ქებათაჲ ქრისტე შეიწყალე გლახაკი გიორგი ამენ:

‘Glory to thee, O God! The Praise of Praises has been finished. O Christ, have mercy on the miserable George. Amen.’

(h) Wisdom of Solomon. სიბრძნის სოლომონის პანარეტოზი: ქრისტე შეიწყალე იოვანე თორნიკ:

'The Wisdom of Solomon Panaretos; O Christ, have mercy on Iovane T'ornik!'

Inc. f. 277^v; des. f. 302^v: *ibid.* in small black capitals: დიდებამ დმერთსა დაესტულა სიბრძნის სოლომონის: თავი დ^რ: ქრისტე ადიდე მამამ იოვანე თორნიკ მოძღუერთ ძმით და შვილით ურთ:

'Glory unto God! The Wisdom of Solomon has been finished. Chapter four. O Christ, exalt Father Iovane T'ornik with his teachers, his brothers, and his sons';

in still smaller black capitals: უფალ მოიგებენე გლახაკი გიორგი გელახის ძმ რუმელი დამეკლავ შემინდვეთ:

'O Lord, remember the miserable Giorgi Gelasisdze: for what I shall have been lacking in pardon me.'

(i) Sirach. Inc. f. 302^v; f. 315^v at end of qu. იბ in lower margin [in red?]: აქამდე გიორგისი აქამთვან მიქაელისი წადმართ:

'Up to here by George; from here on Mik'el straight through.'

A different hand and ink. F. 337^v at the end of ch. 30 an illegible pencil note; f. 341^r, note that the following passage is lacking in the printed text, and this runs apparently to f. 344^r, where there is another pencil note, likewise illegible.⁴⁵ A careful collation of the passages shows that the text is complete and in the proper order, such as is exhibited by the Old Latin, the Syriac, the Armenian, and by two Greek mss. The printed Georgian text is (like Maccabees and Fourth Esdras) a translation from the Slavic, which in turn was translated from the usual Greek text, with the well-known transposition of the passages 30, 25-33, 13a, and 33, 13b-36, 16a.⁴⁶ The disorder occurs in the printed text and not in our ms. Some

⁴⁵ This is not a gap in the archetype, as Žordania thinks (Описание, II, p. 37).

⁴⁶ The statement of the facts in H. B. Swete, *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge, 1900, pp. 271-272, is completely incomprehensible. The facts are clearly set forth by him in the preface to Vol. II of *The Old Testament in Greek*, pp. vi-vii, Cambridge, 1891. See also J. H. A. Hart, *Ecclesiasticus in Greek*, *Introduction*, pp. vii-viii, Cambridge, 1909. The Greek mss. are codd. Vat. gr. 248 and 253.

evident Armenisms show clearly that our text cannot be derived from the Greek. Des. Sirach f. 366^v.

(j) The twelve Minor Prophets. წიგნი ათორმეტთა წინამხ-
წარმეტყულთაჲ:

'The Book of the 12 Prophets',

in red capitals (f. 367^r). The list of the names is given with the stichometry, but preceding the latter are two sets of letters: the first, read from bottom to top, gives ჰ მლიგსენე ო^ა ო^ა ა^ა 'ĥ Remember O Lord ā'; the second, read from top to bottom: მლიგსე ო^ა ო^ა ანჳა 'Remember, O Lord, anüy.' ⁴⁷

(1) f. 367 ^r inc. Hosea	ა ^ა თავი მსხვი	ა : მ : ჳ :
(2) f. 378 ^r inc. Joel	ბ ^ა თავი იღველისი	ბ : ო : დ :
(3) f. 382 ^r inc. Amos	გ ^ა თავი ამლხისი	ბ : ო : მ :
(4) f. 391 ^r inc. Obadiah	დ ^ა თავი აბდიაჲსი	ჴ : გ : ჴ :
(5) f. 392 ^r inc. Jonah	ე ^ა თავი იონაჲსი	ნ : ხ : ლ :
(6) f. 395 ^r inc. Micah	ვ ^ა თავი მიქაჲსი	ე : ე : ჴ :
(7) f. 401 ^v inc. Nahum	ზ ^ა თავი ნაუმისი	ხ : ო : ფ :
(8) f. 404 ^r inc. Habakkuk	წ ^ა თავი ამბაკუმისი	გ : ო : ჴ :
(9) f. 407 ^v inc. Zephaniah	თ ^ა თავი სოფონიაჲსი	ო : ა : დ :
(10) f. 410 ^v inc. Haggai	ი ^ა თავი ანგეაჲსი	ო : ნ : დ :
(11) f. 413 ^r inc. Zechariah	ია ^ა თავი ჴაქარიაჲსი	მ : ჳ : რ :

After f. 421^v gap of 2 folia (Zech. 11, 7-13, 9), ff. 3 and 4 of qu. 33 (= 26) having been lost.

(12) f. 423^r inc. Malachi; des. იბ^ა თავი მალაკიაჲსი ჴ : მ :
Malachi f. 427^r.

Then follows a lengthy colophon in the hand of the scribe, but written rather smaller than in the body of the text.

⁴⁷ This is apparently a corrupt form of Iovaney = John. The ĥ is a part of the stichometry.

დიდება შენდა ქრისტე ნათელ სამარადისო სულთა ჩუენთა განმანათლებელ . განსრულდა წიგნი ათორმეტთა წინადაწარმეტყუელთა: ქრისტე ადიდე თორნიკ პატრიკი და შვილნი მისნი ამჴნ ამჴნ ამჴნ:-

f. 427^v¹ აქამდე მიქაელისი რომელსა ცთომილ ვიყო ღმრთისა თჳს შემინდვეთ და ღოცვასა მომიგსენეთ:|

რომლისა თანა შემწენი ვართ და ღმრთისა თანა მსახურნი და ღმრთისა აღმსწებულნი საფუძველისანი მოციქულთა და წინადაწარმეტყუელთასა ვითარცა თქუა მოციქულმან აღსაარებად გჳპყრიეს ღმრთის მსახურებისა იგი საიდუმლოჲ . რომელი მოგუეთხრა სამთა მათ გან გუნდთა სამგზის მქადაგებულთა რომელთა მიერ შეუძრველად დამტკიცებულ არს ეკლესიაჲ: მოციქულთა მიერ და წინადაწარმეტყუელთა და წმიდათა მოძღუართა და ესრტო ადივსო ესე სულითა ძლიერითა მიდგომილი მოუკლებულად შობს ზეგარდამო მეორედ წყლისა მიერ და სულისა სიმრავლესა მორწმუნეთასა¹ . რომელთა მიერ ისწავების ზეცისა ძალთა მრავალფერი იგი სიბრძნჳ ღმრთისაჲ საიდუმლოჲ იგი გამოუთქუმელი ცნობაჲ წმიდისა ერთარსებისაჲ დასაბამი ყოვლისა მეცნიერებისაჲ . რომლისა თჳს ახლად შობილთა აღგვდებიეს კერტი იგი გონიერებისაჲ და დღითი დღედ ვწოეთ სიტკბოებისასა მას სძესა . და ესრტო|აღორძინებულნი არაწას სამებასა წმიდასა დავაკლებთ არცა უმრწემსობით ვირყვთ: არამედ ერთი მამაჲ გურწამს დაუსაბამოდ ღმერთი სრული მშობელი ერთისა მის ძისაჲ . და ერთი იგი ძჳ უძმოჲ და უმოყუსოდ არამედ იგი ხლო: მხოლოდ უბით მამისაჲთ სწორი მამისაჲ ბუნებით დაუსაბამოებით და შემოქმედებით და ერთი იგი სული . რომელი მამისა გინ გამოვალს და შორის მამისა და ძისა იდიდების სწორი ღმრთეებითა დაუსაბამოებითა და შეიქმედებითა: ამის თჳსცა ერთ ღმერთ წმიდაჲ სამებაჲ გარდაუქცეველ სამგუამოვნად ცნობილი . ერთ ღმრთეებად გამოჩინებული: ესე მოგვთხრა სჯოლდოხმან მან ნიკეას . რომელნი თჳთ გელმწიფებამან სულისა წმიდისა მან შეკრიბნა მწიგნობარნი იგი და მოწაუებულნი სასუფეველსა რომელთა გამოიღეს ძუელი და ახალი საუნჯჳ: და ესრეთ სულითა ძლიერითა ადიწასეს და საანჯმნო ყვეს მართალი|სარწმუნოებაჲ ვიდრემდის აღავსნეს მადნარნი გმითა მათითა: და მიერ და დარანებულნი იგი სულნი¹ მზირად სულსა უმანკოთასა რომელნი მე მონადი-

¹ სულნი] leg. გუელნი.

‘Glory unto thee, O Christ, Light eternal, Illuminator of our souls! Completed is the book of the twelve prophets. O Christ, exalt spiritually T’ornik the patrikios and his sons! Amen. Amen. Amen.

Up to here the hand of Mik’ael; in what I have erred pardon me for God’s sake and remember me in prayer.

With whom we are aiders and fellow-servants of God⁴⁸ and edified of God upon the foundation of the apostles and the prophets,⁴⁹ as the apostle said: “To confess have we taken the mystery of religion,”⁵⁰ which was related unto us by the three companies of the thrice proclaimed, by whom the church is unshakenly secured, by the apostles and the prophets and the holy teachers.⁵¹ And thus this [the church] is filled, fertilized by the mighty spirit; she unfailingly bears thereafter by the water from above and from the Spirit the multitude of the faithful, whereby is taught the manifold wisdom of God to the heavenly powers,⁵² that ineffable mystery,⁵³ that knowledge of the holy unity of substance, the commencement of all wisdom; wherefore we, the newly-born, have fastened upon the nipple of intelligence, and from day to day we suck the milk of its sweetness. And having been thus brought up, in naught do we diminish the holy Trinity, nor do we speak with the callowness of youth, but we believe in one Father without beginning, in God, perfect, the parent of his only Son, and in the one Son without a brother and without companion, but in Him alone, sole from the bosom of his father, equal to his father by nature, by absence of beginning, and by creation, and in the one Spirit, which proceeds from the Father and is glorified between Father and Son, equal in Godhead, in absence of beginning, and in creative might. Hence also as one God is the Holy Trinity recognized as unchanging in the three hypostases and appears as the single Godhead.

This the synod in Nicaea told us, which the very power of the Holy Spirit gathered together, the scribes and the disciples in the kingdom who brought forth the old and the new treasure.⁵⁴ And thus through the mighty Spirit they proclaimed and made public the true faith until the forests were filled with their voice, and from thence the coiled snakes,⁵⁵ besetting the souls of the blameless, were driven out, the ones being hunted out and the others persecuted, and the church was filled with the multitude of the faithful. We believe in and confess the Holy Virgin, the Mother of God, as the great Gregory

⁴⁸ 1 Cor. 3, 9.

⁵⁰ 1 Tim. 3, 16.

⁵² Eph. 3, 10.

⁵⁴ Matt. 13, 52.

⁴⁹ Eph. 2, 20.

⁵¹ 1 Cor. 12, 28.

⁵³ Eph. 3, 9.

⁵⁵ Ms.: ‘souls.’

რნეს და რომელინ მე განდევნეს და ეკლესიამ აღავსეს სი-
მრავლითა მღრწმუნეთადა: გურწამს და აღვიარებთ წმიდასა
ქალწულსა ღმრთის მშობელსა . ვითარცა იტყვს დიდი გრიგო-
ლი . ვინ არა აღიაროს მარიამ ღმრთის მშობელად განშორებულ
არს იგი ღმრთისა გან . და კჳლად იტყვს აჲა ყრმაღ ღმერთ
არს . და ვითარ არა ღმრთის მშობელ არს მშობელი მისი:
ხოლო მის გან მიხუტულნი იგი საუფლონი გორცნი ძესა მას
დაუსაბამოხა აქჳან სრულ ყოვლითა ვე ბუნებითა კაცობრი-
ვითა თჳნიერ ხოლო ცოდვისა პირველ ჯჳარცემადმდე მძიმე
და საჭირველ . და მიმშუე ყოველსა განწრწნადსა . ვითარცა ესე
ჩუენ თჳნიერ ხოლო ცოდვისა . ხოლო შემდგომად აღდგომისა
უხრწნელ და უკუდავ და ყოვლად უვნებელ: ამის თჳსცა ერთი
ქრისტე ერთი ძმ ერთი უფალი ერთითა გჳამითა და ორითა |
თჳსობითა აღუვარებებს წმიდასა ეკლესიასა და ესრეთ ასწავებს
ყოველთა ნამობთა თჳსთა: და ვითარცა ზღუამ შეიკრებს ძლიე-
რებასა მდინარეთასა და არა გარდაეცემის . ეგრეთ ვე ეკლესიამ
დღითი დღე სწავლასა წმიდათა მოძღუართასა და იგი აღსავსე
წესსა ვე ზედა ჰგოებს . და მარადის ქადაგებს და იტყვს: იქმო-
დეთ ნუ საზრდელსა წარსაწყმედელსა . არამედ რომელი ეგოს
ცხოვრებად საუკუნოდ:

f. 428r

რომლისა თჳსცა მე იოვანე თორნიკ ყოფილმან ძემან სულჯუ-
რთხეულისი ჩორდვანელისამან მოვიგე წმიდამ ესე წიგნი
მეფეთამ სალოცველად თავისა ჩემისა და ძმათა ჩემთა და
შვილთა ჩემთა თჳს . და მოსაგსენებელად სულსა ყოველთა
მიცვალებულთა ჩემთასა: აწ წმიდანო ღმრთისანო ვინცა იმსა-
ხურებდეთ წმიდასა ამას წიგნსა . გსენებულმცა ვარ წმიდათა
შინა ლოცვათა თქუენთა . რადთა უფალმან თქუენცა სასყიდელი
ზევისამ მოგანიჭოს . კურთხეულ არს მწერალი . ქებულ არს
მკითხველი . მადლი მსმენელთა ამცნ:-|

f. 428v

დაიწერა წმიდამ ესე წიგნი გელითა სამთა მწერალთადათა:
მიქაელისითა გეორგისითა და სტეფანესითა: ჩუენ თჳსცა ლოცვა
ყავთ წმიდანო ღმრთისანო ამცნ: .

ოდეს ესე წიგნი დაიწერა ქრონიკონი იყო: რ ჟ მ :

შეიმოხსა გელითა გლასაკისა სტეფანესითა . ლოცვასა მომიგხე-
ნეთ წმიდანო ღმრთისანო მთაწმიდელნო . გულს მოდგინებად
ფრიად მაქჳნდა განაწერამ და მოსამ ესთენ ვიცოდე:

saith: "Whoso shall not confess Mary to be the Mother of God is estranged from God," and again: "Behold a child is God, and how is she who bore it not the Mother of God?"⁵⁶ The divine flesh, however, assumed from her, the Son without beginning hath, complete in every human nature, but without sin, up to his crucifixion heavy and oppressed and liable to corruption just as we, except for sin, but after his resurrection incorruptible, immortal, and wholly untouched by suffering. Wherefore also has the holy church confessed one Christ, one Son, one Lord with one body and with two natures, and thus she teacheth all her progeny. And just as the sea is gathered together by the force of the rivers nor doth it run over, so too [doth] the church from day to day with the teachings of the doctors, and she, too, full to the brim abideth in this wise, and ever preacheth and saith: "Do not according to the way [lit. food] of destruction, but that which shall yield eternal life."

Wherefore I, Iovane, T'ornik that was, the son of the wholly blessed Ćordvaneli, have devoted this holy book of Kings as a prayer-offering for myself and my brothers and my sons and in commemoration of the souls of all my departed [relatives]. Now, O holy ones of God, whosoever of you shall officiate from this book, I would I were mentioned in your holy prayers, in order that the Lord may bestow on you likewise the recompense of Heaven. Blessed is the writer, praised is the reader, grace unto them that listen. Amen.

This sacred book was written by the hands of three scribes, Mik'ael, Georgi, and Step'aney; pray for us also, O holy ones of God. Amen.

When this book was written the k'ronikon was 198 [+ 780 = 978 A.D.].

It was bound by the hand of the miserable Step'aney: remember him in your prayers, O holy ones of God of the Holy Mountain. I had great zeal, but in reading and writing I sinned so much.'

⁵⁶ This probably refers to Gregory Nazianzen, ep. 101 ad Cledonium, Migne, P.G. 37, col. 178c f.

In addition to the above description, it seems fitting to give a brief sketch of the importance of this codex for the textual tradition of the Georgian Old Testament. Specific statements as to the character of all portions of the text cannot be made as yet, inasmuch as they would involve a detailed analysis of the entire manuscript, or at least of a portion of each separate book. It is, however, possible to give a general conspectus of the manuscript testimony for each group of books, and this may serve to illustrate what the problem is and to afford some idea of the relative value of the codex (designated as O).

In addition to O certain other Georgian mss. are briefly described in my article 'Ancient Georgian Versions of the Old Testament,' in this REVIEW, vol. XIX, 1926, pp. 270-297. They are the following:

U. Tiflis, Georgian State University Library 1. 13th century.

C. Tiflis, Ecclesiastical Museum 51. 18th century.

S. Tiflis, Georgian Society of History and Ethnography 885. 18th century.

To these are to be added:

A. Tiflis, Ecclesiastical Museum 570. A.D. 1460. Laconic notice in *Žordania*, Описание, II, p. 90. A begins with 3 Kings. The text in 4 Kings is abbreviated and very corrupt; about the other books I have no information.

B. Tiflis, Ecclesiastical Museum 646. Late 16th century. B is described in some detail, but with a number of errors, by *Žordania*, Описание, II, pp. 129-131. It begins with 1 Kings.

M is the printed Georgian Bible in the Moscow edition of 1743.

(1) Genesis. Apparently where O is preserved it gives the best text.⁵⁷ The text of C is closely akin to it, as is the printed text of the Moscow edition (M). Codices D and G have a very corrupt text. The same holds true for Exodus and the first part of Leviticus.

(2) Latter half of Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and the earlier part of Judges. O is lost here; C is by

⁵⁷ A stemma of the manuscript filiation in the Octateuch with a description of the mss. is given in my article, 'Ancient Georgian Versions of the Old Testament,' Harvard Theological Review, vol. XIX, July 1926, p. 287.

far the best ms. and is fairly close to M. G breaks off in Numbers, D in Deuteronomy; in both the text is corrupt. Two pages written in capitals from Numbers (K) are preserved with a very corrupt text. S contains the latter part of the Octateuch, commencing with the second half of Deuteronomy, and is akin to C, but omits many words and phrases. About the text of F I know nothing, except that it contains only Deuteronomy and is incomplete. U and the allied mss. U₁ and U₂ (see my article, p. 285 f.) have a wholly variant text (that of the Catena Nicephori), which was translated from the Greek.

(3) End of Judges and Ruth.⁵⁸ O is the best and close to C; S and U also cover this section.

(4) Job. O and C are much alike; some fragments, scanty and corrupt, in S. C is the sole ms. after 30, 27.

(5) Psalter. Absent from O. The best manuscript is Tiflis Ecclesiastical Museum 38,⁵⁹ to which the Sinai mss. are closely allied.⁶⁰ This version seems to be akin to that in the Greek Codex Alexandrinus (A).⁶¹ The later revised version of George the Athonite is preserved in many mss., of which the majority are late.

(6) Kings. O is the best ms., closely allied to C, which is also very good. A and B are akin to these; A is very corrupt, B less so. The text in M is wholly different, and its origin and relationship are completely obscure.

(7) Chronicles. Absent from O. C is the best ms., closely allied to A and B.

(8) Esther, Judith, Tobit. Codices A B O C; the text has not as yet been investigated.⁶²

(9) Proverbs, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiastes.⁶³ O and

⁵⁸ A discussion of the readings in Ruth in my article cited above, pp. 280 ff.

⁵⁹ 904 A.D. according to Kekelidze; a description of the ms. in *Žordania, Oпиcанiе*, I, pp. 29-34.

⁶⁰ Tsagareli, *Свѣдѣнiя*, II, pp. 51-56. Nos. 1 and 2 and 3-6; these latter are now nos. 42, 29, 86. Codex 2 is now at Graz, and I could not discover the whereabouts of the papyrus psalter No. 1 during my visit to Sinai in 1927.

⁶¹ They have the same titles to the Psalms, the introduction of Pseudo-Athanasius, and the apparatus. See A. Rahlfs, *Septuagintastudien* II, pp. 56-7.

⁶² Cf. above, p. 45, for Tobit.

⁶³ The various extant texts of Ecclesiastes are printed in parallel columns in the publication of Kekelidze cited above (note 36).

C are the only two mss., and are closely akin. C is incomplete.

(10) Song of Solomon. The texts vary. O C, Eccl. Mus. 65⁶⁴ and two other late mss.⁶⁵

(11) Sirach. O is the sole ms. M is an 18th-century translation from the Slavic.

(12) Ezra and Nehemiah. I gives the best text. O is incomplete. A B C also contain these texts, but their relations to the others are not yet ascertained.

(13) 4 Esdras. I has the best text but is defective.⁶⁶ O has only excerpts.⁶⁷

(14) Prophets. O is akin but inferior to I. A completely variant version is found in U = M.⁶⁸ U is lost for Daniel,⁶⁹ so that in that book the character of M is uncertain; in any case it differs distinctly from O and I.

⁶⁴ From this ms. (A.D. 1215) the text of the Song of Solomon (which is accompanied by a commentary) has been lithographed in facsimile by A. Shanidze, Tiflis, 1924. This part of the ms. is written in 'mkhedruli' — the secular hand.

⁶⁵ The later mss. are in the library of the Society for the Extension of Literacy among the Georgians, Nos. 409 and 1349; see Karičavili, კატალოგო, p. 15.

⁶⁶ R. P. Blake, 'The Georgian Version of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem Manuscript,' in *Harvard Theological Review*, XIX, 1926, pp. 299-375 (Georgian text and Latin translation).

⁶⁷ See the following article in the present number of this Review.

⁶⁸ On the relation between O and U in the prophets, see my article cited above (note 48), especially pp. 281 ff.

⁶⁹ If the Book of Daniel ever was included in the ms.

THE GEORGIAN TEXT OF FOURTH ESDRAS FROM THE ATHOS MANUSCRIPT

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I

IN the edition of the Georgian text of Fourth Esdras from the Jerusalem manuscript (I), published in this REVIEW, vol. XIX, 1926, I presented such information as was then available about the other and older ms. containing this text, namely, that of the lavra of Iveron on Mt. Athos (O). In the summer of 1927 my hope of gaining access to this precious ms. was fulfilled, and the first volume of it was photographed by Professor K. Lake, the Rev. A. W. Johnson and myself. Permission for this was kindly granted by the epitropoi of the monastery, to whom we desire here to express our sincere gratitude. The photographs, developed by the Eastman Kodak Company of Rochester, N. Y., proved to be excellent. A detailed description of the ms. is given in the preceding article of the present number of this REVIEW.

The text of Fourth Esdras is to be found on ff. 480 v¹—496 v¹ of volume I of the ms. A cursory examination of the text during my stay on Mt. Athos showed that it was not complete; although the last chapter was present, there was a considerable gap before it, and from stichometrical calculations I found that other bits must also be missing. On obtaining the photographs I was able to ascertain the true state of affairs.

Codex O contains only extracts from the text. The gaps do not correspond to anything in the other versions, nor do they follow any discernible ratio of size or any other character which would suggest that the archetype of O had been defective or mutilated. There are no breaks in the text of O to show that the excerpts were in any way marked as such in the archetype. The translation itself, while exhibiting many stylistic and other

variants from I, is fundamentally the same version. Codex I, however, is complete and continuous so far as it is preserved, and the two lacunae which occur in it before the damaged conclusion are exactly what we should expect on stichometrical grounds. Hence it is to be inferred that O was copied from an archetype which consisted of excerpts; and this is supported by the fact that the gaps occur at breaks in the narrative. The sections preserved in the two mss. respectively are as follows. The references are by the numbers of visions, sections, and verses used in Violet's edition:

Codex O (Athos)	Codex I (Jerusalem)
I. 1, 1-II. 5, 5	I. 1, 1-I. 10, 1
II. 7, 1-III. 3, 3	I. 10, 4-III. 7, 12a
III. 10, 4-III. 15, 10	(<i>lacuna of two folia</i>)
III. 23, 1-III. 26, 17	III. 12, 7b-III. 14, 8
VII. 3, 1-VII. 4, 2	(<i>lacuna of one folium</i>)
VII. 5, 1-VII. 9, 1	III. 16, 11b-III. 28, 7a

The sections wholly missing from both mss. are:

III. 10, 4-III. 12, 7
 III. 15, 10-III. 16, 10
 III. 28, 7-VII. 2, 16
 VII. 4, 2-VII. 4, 5
 VII. 9, 2

In other words, about two-thirds of the text is extant in Georgian.

In the previous article the conjecture was made that the text of O was akin to that of I, and three reasons were given: (a) the same corruption (found also in the Ethiopic) appears in the title in both mss.; (b) the text of certain other books exhibits a marked similarity in the two mss.; (c) both mss. come from the same area. This conjecture has been confirmed in all essentials, but none the less a very considerable number of differences in style, word-order, and vocabulary appear. It would seem that the text of one of the mss. has undergone a somewhat thorough revision, and that this is probably O. Codex I, however, is by no means devoid of errors, and the

new materials permit a more satisfactory estimate of I than was possible when this codex stood alone.

I will take up systematically the relation between the two mss. with the intent of determining their individual character and relative value for the reconstruction of the original text.

1. Orthography

Codex O exhibits a greater preference than I for the letter *ey*, but is neither systematic nor regular in the use of it. In the following instances *ey* is written in O where I has *e*:

(1) Adverbs:

- (a) monosyllabic *ჲ* I. 1, 2; *მე* I. 1, 10, incorrectly.
- (b) dissyllabic *ქუემე* III. 2, 5; *მერმე* II. 3, 1; both forms are used.

(2) Comparative forms in Auslaut: *უახლეს* I. 5, 3; *უმეტეს* I. 12, 9; *უმჯობეს* I. 6, 3; I. 8, 2, correctly.

(3) In forms from the stem *შენ- šeyn-* 'to build,' correctly: I. 1, 3; I. 5, 2; II. 2, 3.

(4) In nouns and adjectives:

- (a) in nominative of -*ე* -*e* stems, correctly: *დღე* III. 14, 5; *მდინარე* II. 2, 3; *მთოვარე* I. 13, 8; *მეექუსე* III. 12, 10; *მეშჯდე* III. 2, 13; *მეშჯდე* III. 12, 8; *ხავსე* I. 12, 6; *სიბრძნე* I. 13, 16; *სიმიდირე* III. 2, 20; *სიმრავლე* III. 2, 7 *სიმტკიცე*; II. 7, 6.

(b) in predicate case of -*ე* -*e* stems, incorrectly:

დღე II. 1, 1; *ხავსე* I. 11, 8.

(c) in dative case of -*ე* -*e* stems, incorrectly:

- (a) singular *დღესა* I. 13, 8; III. 3, 1: *ღამესა* I. 14, 3; III. 1, 2: *სიმაღლესა* II. 2, 7.

- (b) plural *დღეთა* I. 13, 1.

(5) In verbs, incorrectly:

- (a) 1st person singular of perfect: *მიუგე* I. 12, 1; II. 5, 3; I. 7, 10; I. 11, 8: *გკითხე* I. 7, 9; *ვახილე* I. 12, 5; II. 3, 8.

- (b) 2nd person singular of perfect: *აუწყე* I. 6, 3; *გინამართლე* I. 8, 9; *განაცრუე* I. 8, 9; *შეიყუარე* I. 9, 3; *მკითხე* I. 10, 4; *განადიდე* II. 2, 3; *მოიძულე* II. 2, 8; *უძლე* II. 5, 3.

- (c) 3rd person singular of subjunctive: *დაშრტეს* II. 10, 12.
- (d) 3rd person plural of perfect: *იწრახეს* I. 8, 5; *წრახეს* I. 8, 9.
- (e) imperative: *ჰკითხე* I. 11, 10; *ჰამე* I. 14, 6.
- (6) *ვ v* in Inlaut; O writes *ბაბილონი* *babiloni* consistently, and employs the form *რაოდენი* *raodeni*. The employment of *ვ v* to obviate internal hiatus in the endings of abstract nouns is usually not found in O. *ვ v* in the root *c'xov* *ცხოვ* appears and disappears; *ვ v* in forms from the root *შოვრ* *šovr* is absent for the most part; the dialectal form *ცხომ-* *c'xom-* for *c'xov-* is not employed. O consistently has *ხმა* *xma* in the phrase *გუელის* $\left\{ \begin{smallmatrix} ხმა \\ ხმის \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ *ყივია*.

რიცხუ O (I. 6, 1 for *რიცხვ* I) is correct, as the appositional form is demanded by the syntax. The form *გრწნა* is prevalent in O, also *წრატა*. The dialectal form *შოდა* for *შინა* is not found in O, but a number of other vulgar forms appear.

It is noteworthy that *წაბამ* is spelled in two passages with a double *ა a* in the final syllable. O apparently does not apocopate the *ა a* in the oblique cases of the word *ქუეყანა* 'land,' 'earth.'

2. Vocabulary

We find a series of passages where a number of words in I are replaced by their synonyms in O. It is hard to discern any specific tendency in these variations, save perhaps in two instances, where an Armenian word and an Armenian idiom appear to have been eradicated; *ტომან* (arm. *տոմ*) is replaced by *ნათესავმან* (I. 6, 8); *დადგენ* 'stant' (= *կան*) by *დამთენ* 'manent' (III. 2, 4).

I. 2, 7	უვარ	შეურაცხ
3, 2	თესლეში	ნათესავები
5, 3	ნაშობთა	ნათესავთა
6, 5	თესლსა	ნათესავსა
6, 8	ტომან	ნათესავმან
10, 5	დაეთესა	ეთესა

10, 7	ყვნა	გამოიხუნა
11, 10	} მიდგომილსა	მუცელ ქმნულსა
II. 10, 4		
III. 2, 5	} საკუთრად	საზებურდ
2, 22		
2, 4	დადგენ	დამოენ
12, 9	ნამრდმისა	შრდმისა

3. Syntactical Changes

The chief syntactical differences between the two texts consist in the omission or addition of the copula *და da*. This occurs so frequently in Old Georgian mss. that we must not attribute any special stylistic importance to it. In a number of instances the order of words has been altered, and the case-agreements of modifying adjectives do not always follow the same scheme in both mss. In two instances a relative clause has been altered into a participial construction in O, and in a couple of cases the tense of a verb has been changed. The general impression gained is that the alterations in the text of O are posterior.

Changes of tense.

I	O
I. 1, 2 ვიხილე aor.	ვხიდევდ impf.
მიმღვიდეს aor.	მიმღვიდოდეს impf.
I. 1, 4 გულს მიგდებდა impf.	გულ გდებულ იყო aor.

Participial clauses.

I. 12, 2 რომელ . . . არიან	წარსლვადნი
II. 7, 9 რომელნი . . . არიან	დაუნჯებულთა

O has a tendency to employ the nominative of the masdar and not the directive case after verbs meaning to 'begin,' 'order,' etc.

I. 1, 4 განმტავლებამ	pro	-ბად post იწყეს
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4. *Passages Omitted or Added in O*

If we leave out of consideration the larger lacunae in O, a long list of passages remain, where O omits words, or less frequently clauses, that are found in I. A considerable proportion of these omissions are unsupported by the authority of the other versions:

- I. 3, 6 et tribus
- 3, 3 dictum est
- 7, 1 cui . . . Uriel
- 7, 3 tres vias
- 9, 2 cotidiana
- 11, 3 visionem
- II. 2, 5 populum
- 3, 4 dico quia
- 4, 7 unum
- 8, 3-4 et Esau . . . Iacob
- 10, 8 tres
- 11, 1 terra
- III. 2, 5 et ad seminationem
- 12, 11 et gaudebant sine pervicacitate
- 13, 2 videant
- 23, 2 aëribus
- 23, 7 loquar hoc

A smaller proportion of the omissions in O have the support of certain of the versions, but for the most part of the less reliable ones:

- I. 3, 3 fuit quando om A^{ew, g} Arm
- 6, 7 iniustitias A^{ew}
- 6, 9 qui . . . invenies Aeth
- 7, 2 admiratione Aeth
- II. 1, 1 lamentabar et flebam A^g
- 2, 3 et . . . lilium Aeth A^g
- 2, 4 creatis A^{ew, g} Arm
- 2, 4 creatis tuis A^{ew, g} Arm
- 7, 2-3 autem . . . sicut L
- III. 12, 11 primis Aeth A^{ew} Arm
- 23, tit. orationis L

In a few instances we evidently have to do with interpolations in I, since the readings are practically unsupported by any other manuscript testimony:

I. 7, 6	rursus	om omnes praeter I
13, 18	et proximus	om omnes praeter I
II. 2, 3	Iordanem	om omnes praeter I Arm

Much shorter is the list of words or clauses added in O. Here the situation is reversed. The majority of the passages added have the support of the best versions:

I. 1, 2	oculi	Aeth
5, 3	fecit	L S Aeth
10, 2-3	habent omnes	
11, 9	ne tunc	habent omnes praeter Arm
12, 5	et abiit	habent omnes
II. 2, 4	unam	habent omnes
4, 7	facere et	habent omnes
III. 2, 1	et dixi	habent omnes
2, 8	et stellas mutari	habent omnes
2, 15	et bestias et volucres	habent omnes
2, 21	et imperat nobis et conculcat nos	habent omnes

Some few additions in O, however, lack any support:

I. 11, 8	nunc
13, 1	petitione
III. 2, 7	omnis
	omnis

I therefore conclude that O is carelessly written, but that it does fill up a series of minor lacunae in I.

5. *Variant Readings*

A group of passages remain where we apparently find real variant readings. An analysis of this list shows that all of these are due to evident errors in one or the other of the two mss. Sometimes the scribe of I, more frequently that of O, is at fault. The errors are of two main types: (a) displacing of a word from the previous line (frequent in O); (b) misreading

of a word, which in some cases appears to have been written under contraction.

Among all the variants listed below only one seems to deserve special notice, and its importance is apparent rather than real. This is ქაბი] პატიგი: tempus] poena I. 2, 8. The word პატიგი 'punishment' (arm. *պատիժ*) is not very frequent in Georgian, and is unexpected in O, which tends to avoid Armenisms. While the word makes passable sense in the context, the evidence of the other versions leads me to think that O has preserved here the original reading for მოხმელვა 'destruction' in the following verse, which has been displaced. Compare the reading of Aeth: 'Bestrafung.'

Errors in I (the reading printed first in each case is that of I).

- I. 1, 2 suspexerunt oculi] suspexerunt mihi oculi
- 2, 5 confirmasti] et mandasti
- 3, 1 ex eo] ex eo exierunt
- 6, 1 tres] CCC
- 7, 11 te] vas
- 8, 4, 6 imperabimus] bellum geremus
- 9, 1 deus] domine
- 11, 4 Uriel] Eremi
- 13, 3 merces] signum
- 13, 4 aqua] pars
- 13, 9 terra] lapis
- 13, 10 configunt] moventur
- populi] aëres
- II. 8, 6 Israhel] Ezra
- 10, 5 infantes] agri

Different errors in O and I (the first reading is that of I).

- I. 2, 5 vere puritatem] veritatem tuam
- 4, 3 portas caeli] latera viva
- II. 10, 3 praeparaverunt] interpretaverunt
- III. 2, 10 Velt'ara] camporum

Errors in O (the first reading is that of I).

- I. 1, 3 vidi enim] et sicut videbam
- 5, 5 Sion] Ierusalem

- 11, 11 *matrici*] *promptuario*
- 12, 7 *saeviter*] *saeva valde*
- 14, 1 *labore*] *zelo*
- II. 1, 2 *iterum*] *venerunt*
- 1, 3 *spiritum*] *cor*
- 3, 4 *dolet me*] *audivi*
- 4, 7 *amorem illum*] *iocunditatem illam*
- 7, 6 *potestatum*] *victoriarum*
- 7, 4 *tonitru*] *terrae*
- 7, 8 *fundamenti*] *mensurae*
- III. 2, 1 *die*] *nocte*
- 2, 5 *messem*] *ornamentum*
- 2, 13 *tertio*] *septimo*
- 2, 13 *Leviat'ar*] *Velt'ara*
- 3, 1 *nocte*] *die*
- 12, 7 *conservati*] *vivi*
- 12, 11 *gloriantur*] *agunt*
- 12, 13 *multorum*] *eorum*
- 23, 8 *peccata*] *preces*

The analysis of the above groups of variants gives rise to the following general deductions:

(1) No one of the variant readings found in O and I shows any evidence of being derived from any new manuscript strain outside of the general manuscript tradition as it exists at present.

(2) All the variants can be explained:

(a) as errors in one or the other, less frequently in both, of the MSS.;

(b) by the choice of an alternative rendering which existed already in the Armenian tradition.

(3) I and O go back to a single archetype.

(4) The hypothesis proposed in 1926 that the Georgian goes back through the Armenian to a base of the type *y* which has been corrected by a ms. of the type *x* proves to be correct.

(5) In reconstituting the Georgian archetype an eclectic procedure must be followed. Interpolations can be recognized and omissions filled up, but neither I nor O can be relied on implicitly without weighing the outside evidence.

In presenting the new materials it seemed advisable, in view of the fact that many of the variants were merely orthographic in character, to arrange them, where Codex I is extant, in the form of a collation. The new sections are given in full, as are also those passages where Codex I is too fragmentary to make much sense. In these instances I have marked off with half-brackets in the text of O the sections which are preserved in I. I have also appended a Latin translation, worked out in the same fashion as in my former publication, of all passages printed in full and of such of the variants as involve any alteration in my original translation.

II

Before proceeding to the text of Codex O some additions and corrections to the text of Codex I as printed in 1926 are to be recorded. During a recent expedition to the Near East I spent some time in Jerusalem and had an opportunity to recollate Fourth Esdras in the ms. This renewed inspection enabled me to make out rather more from the damaged leaves at the end of the text than I had previously been able to do from the photostat prints used for the edition. In a number of instances I was able to straighten out torn bits of parchment which had been folded over or creased, while in other cases an inspection of the original showed passages where damp had caused the writing on the opposite page to print off and now and then to metamorphose the characters *en regard* in quite peculiar fashion. I have included the results of the comparison of I in the collation of O, but append here a list of new readings from those sections of I where O is not extant, and also a list of misprints which crept into my edition of the text of I.

Corrections to the Edition of Codex I

The page numbers refer to the Harvard Theological Review,
XIX, 1926.

Page 348

III. 2, 8 მეოთხესა corr. e მეხუთესა quarto corr. e quinto

Page 354

5, 7 (ქუეყანაჲ) legendum (ქუე-
ყანამან), sicut Prof. N.
Marr monuit me

Page 362

lin. 5 pro (10) lege (11),
et pro (11) lege (12)

18, 1 მოწამედ] მოწყალებ testem] misericordem
არღ' . ა მო'ს'რ'ულ: pro
მო- in MS. non vacat

18, 5a ad. fin. ს'რდელი ესე და] mundum hoc et habitatores
მკვდრნი'ცა' ამ . . ისნი quoque huius

Page 364

21, 4 ახლ'თა' მისთა გან

Page 368

23, 18 [არს]' რ'კეელის ხა' His ostensa est bonum op[
24, 1 კეთილი] მართალი Bonum] Iustum
24, 2a არცა abest apud MS. om neque ante perditionis
ზედა[. .]დ[. .]: დ super
lineam

Page 370

24, 4b განიგნ'ია'ს super eum pluvia tempore
25, 2 მას'ზედა წჳმად' ეამსა ne perdas [nos?]
25, 4 ნუ წარ' . ს'წყმედედ quomodo potuisti tu?
26, 2 ვითარმცა რ'უძლე' შ'ენდა' დაბადებულისა (sic) ut vi-
detur
26, 4 არა შეი'რ'ლ' . .]]
თანა' . .

26, 7 post არს fragmentum per-
gamenae paene avulsum
fortiter contortum et de-
fectum: abest versus unus
[უღას[.....].... ი ცხო-
რებისა . განცხადებულ
არს ყ[.....] მის სოფლი-
სა რს . და []
დებ გ^რს სასოგ^რ...
ლ არს საბა . . . [.] დმოცე-
ნებულ რას[

vitae. Revelatum est . . .
huius mundi . . .

. . . ascensum est

26, 9 დეს თა []
26, 12-13 რი და ა[.] ბ^რ. 160

Page 372

27, 1 ante დღეთა add მათ
27, 3 რეთნ^რა
გბულ^რების
სოგამ
მისთა
27, 4 ოდეს^რი
ყოფადი სოფელსა
დასაბამის უწყი
აფსახწული] აღსახრული
გა[.] რნებს^რე^რგ^რე^რ
ცხოვდეს[.] რლოს გა-
ნწყუ

ante diebus add illis
ante tunc lege dixi tibi

post futura lege in mundo
post initium add scis (scio?)
signum] finis

Page 374

III. 27 რან რომელნი არიან^რ. 16
[. . . ა] [. . . ამ] ის თვს
28, 3 თე [ბ .] ლი
მფესა ზედა
28, 6 რ. 16 ზედა მოუ^რგ^რ
მჯულ^რსა

super solem in saeculo

Misprints and Errors

page	for	read
306, l. 7 from bottom	სეილ	სეილ
306, l. 11 from bottom	სეილ	სეილ
310, note 43b	Sceiptures	Scriptures
314, l. 8 from bottom	G: caeli ignis cett	G caeli: ignis cett
315, l. 20	appellunt	appellant
316, l. 2 from bottom	ἐκάλλωσας	ἐκάλλωσας
328, I. 7, 8	მიხლავს	მიხილავს
332, II. 4	გიდრე	ვიდრე
336, IV. 1	განვილჳძმ	განვილჳძმ
340, II. 5, 6	ცხვრებოთ	ცხვრებოთ
348, III. 2, 6	მეცხულად	მეცხულად
350, III. 2, 23	დავკვრდებიეს	დავკვრდებიეს
352, III. 3, 13	და ნაყოფისა	და ნაყოფისა
352, III. 4, 2	ენვიდენ	ესვიდენ
358, III. 7, 12	დაბადებული	დაბადებული
360, III. 12, 12	ცხვრებასა	ცხვრებასა

My friend Professor A. G. Shanidze has kindly communicated to me some observations upon the text: the misprints he noticed and I missed have been added to the list given above. In other cases an incorrect form was left standing in the text of I as published; in certain instances the reading of O confirms Shanidze's conjecture.

	for	read
p. 322 I. 2, 7	დაეყენენ	დაეყენენ (sic O)
p. 326 I. 6, 2	დამკვრდა	დამიკვრდა (sic O)
p. 334 I. 12, 9	და დგანან	დადგანან
p. 335 II. 1, 1	ვიგოდებდ	potius ვგოდებდ
p. 336 II. 1, 3	შთაეცაუა	შთაიგეა (sic O)
p. 340 II. 5, 2	მსთუათა	მსთუადთა
p. 344 II. 9, 3	ნუ დაცემი	ნუ დაცემი (sic O)
p. 348 III. 2, 7	შეჳმენ	შეჳმენ
p. 364 III. 20, 3	და სცხერ	დასცხერ
p. 374 III. 28, 7	წარწყმედულ	lectio correcta

It remains to subjoin, as in my earlier article, a series of passages where the Georgian confirms or disproves certain of Violet's conjectures with regard to the readings of the Greek archetype.

- I. 10, 2 G φορεῖν
 III. 12, 1 G σκευῶν
 III. 15, 7 G τῷ παρόντι κόσμῳ οὐκ ἔστι τὸ τέλος ἔτι
 III. 15, 8 G δυνατοὶ
 III. 15, 9 G χρόνος . . . αἰώνων
 III. 23, 12 G δόξα
 III. 23, 13 G τρόπον
 III. 23, 15 G + Lohn
 III. 23, 16 G πικραίνῃ
 III. 23, 18 G δύναμις: cf. Syr. ad loc.
 III. 24, 4 G σπείρει . . . σπείρει
 III. 26, 4 G θαυμασίος
 VII. 3, 5c G ἐξερευνήσουσιν τὰς ὁδοὺς σου
 VII. 5, 3 G παροικία παροικήσαντες
 VII. 5, 4 G μετ' αὐτοὺς *post* habet
 VII. 5, 5 G Σιών
 VII. 5, 9 G read ἀποτάξῃτε τὰς διανοίας ὑμῶν κακὰς
 G ζῶντες τηρήσεσθε
 VII. 6, 6a G read στῆθος
 and ἐπέυξησε . . . ἐξηρεύξατο
 VII. 7, 1 G κατὰ σημεία
 VII. 8, 4 G φλόξ with Aeth.

THE TEXT OF CODEX O

The reading preceding the half-bracket is that of Codex I.
The page numbers are those of the edition of 1926.

P. 322

ეზრა . . . ბაბილონს] წიგნი ეზრა სუ-
თიელი | minio litterisque capi-
talibus: f 481 v²

Ezra . . . Babylone] liber Ezra
Sut'ieli

I. 1, 1 ქალაქისადთ

ბაბილონს

სუთიელ

Sut'iel

1, 2 სარეველსა ჩემსა

ზე] და ზე

ადმეზიონეს recte, post

quod + თუაღნი

მიმოვიდოდეს

cubili meo (sg.)

suspiciebant oculi] et suspexe-
runt mihi oculi

1, 3 რამეთუ] და რეცა

ვიხილე] ვხედევდ

მოღვრებასა სიონისასა

და შწნებასა . . . ბაბი-

ლონისათასა

ascendebant] veniebant

vidi enim] et sicut videbam

1, 4 გულს მიგდებდა] გულ

გდებულ იყო

სიტყუად . . . საშინელი-

თა] საშინელითა გმითა

მადლისა მიმართ

ვთქუ] ვარქუ

studuit: om mea

loqui . . . terribili] terribili voce
ad Excelsum

2, 1 om 8

om O

2, 2 ქუეყანასა] მას

გამოგცა

ქმნ] ული f 482 r¹

terram] eam

edidit tibi

2, 3 ცხოველი

შენ წინაშე

2, 5 დაამტკიცე] და ამცენ

om ზედა

ჴემმარიტად სიწმიდე]

ჴემმარიტებაჲ შენი

გარდაჴგდა

[et] confirmasti] et iussisti

om super

vere puritatem] veritatem tuam

om tibi

I. 2, 5 მეცხეულად . . . სიკუდი- ლი] დასდევ მას ზედა სიკუდილი მეცხეული ზედა ² post ვე	instante . . . mortem] statuisti super eum mortem instantem
2, 6 გამოცდეს om და ტომები	om et tribus
2, 7 ante უღმრთოებდეს + და შენ წინაშე დააყენენ უვარ] შეურაცხ	ante impie + et
2, 8 უამი] პატივი	negabant] spreverunt
2, 9 მათ ყოველთა	tempus] poenam
3, 1 მისგანნი] მის გინ გამო- ვიდეს	eos omnes
P. 324 3, 2 განმრავლება და მკვდრნი ქუეყნისანი და განამრავლედ] გან- მრავლდეს ante ერნი om და თესლები] ნათესავები ფრიად	qui ex eo multi sunt] ex eo exi- erunt multi
3, 3 om იყო ოდეს ante გამოირჩიე + და რომლისა om ერქუა ante შეიყუარე + და მას f 481 v ¹	ante habitatores om et om et ante multiplicati
3, 4 საუკუნოდ	ante populi om et post tribus + multum
4, 2 om და ante შეაძრწუნე სოფელი] ქუეყანა	ante tremere om et mundum] terram
4, 3 ბჭეთა ცისათა] კიდეთა ცხოველთა	portas caeli] latera viva
om და ante ძრვასა post შჯული + და	om et ante motum ante legem + et
4, 5 შთაეცუა პირველად ადამსა იგი იძლია] და იძლია იგი	insedit primo et victus est ille

- I. 4, 7 om მათ თანა *om apud eos*
- 5, 1 ante წარგდეს + და *ante transierunt + et*
- 5, 2 აღმწნებამ
შენისამ
om და ante შეწირვად *om et ante sacrificare*
- 5, 3 ცოდეს *om tibi*
არა რად] არად
უახლეს
om ყვეს *om fecerunt*
post ადამიან + ყო super *post Adam + fecit (super lineam*
linea manu scribae *additum)*
ნაშობთა] ნათესავთა *omnis proles] omnes tribus*
იგი ვე|გულო: f 482 r¹
- 5, 4 მიეცა: ა erasum *tradidisti corr. e tradita est*
ქალაქი in rasura
მათთასა *tuorum] illorum*
- 5, 5 უკეთეს
ბაბილონისანი
ante მის + და *ante propter + et*
სიონი] იმ^ომი *Sion] Hierosolyma*
- P. 326 6, 1 om მე¹
ბაბილონდ
om მე² *om ego*
რიგზე
სამი] სამასი;-ას- ut vi- *trecenti in rasura*
detur in rasura
- 6, 2 და მიკვრდა ut videtur *admiratus sum in corde meo*
ცოდვილთასა *peccatores*
ante წარსწყმიდე + და *ante perdidisti + et*
- 6, 3 ვინ
აუწყეს
- 6, 4 უმჯობეს
om ნუ *numquid] quid*
ბაბილონმან
- 6, 5 თესლსა] ნათესავსა
ante არცა om და
გამოიღო *protulit: I accepit*

- I. 6, 6 განიჭებულნი] განგებულნი nitide et sic nunc opinor legit et I abundantes] O I accomodatos
- 6, 7 om აწ
აღსწონენ
ჩუენნი] ჩემნი
om უმჯულღებანი²
სოფლისა მათისანი
დაჭწონა] დასლღს sic
om nunc
ponderasti
nostras] meas
om iniustitias²
post mundi + eorum
ponderavit] inclinabit?
- 6, 8 ტომბან] ნათესავმან
დაიმარხნეს
quae tribus] quid genus
observabit
- 6, 9 ჰბონე] f 482 v¹
om რომელთა . . . ჰბოლ
om qui . . . invenies
- 7, 1 post მომიგო + მე
om რომელსა . . . ურიელ
om cui . . . Uriel
- 7, 2 om დაკვრვებით
ჰე] &
om admiratione
utique] O
- 7, 3 om მომიგო და
მომავლინა მე
om სამთა გზათა²
om respondit et
misit me
om tres vias²
- 7, 4 რომელთა] ვითარ რაჲ
om და ante მეცა
გითხრას
quam] quomodo
om et ante ego
dicam] dicet
- 7, 5 ჩემდამო
post წარმომიდგინე + მე
mi] mihi
- P. 328 7, 6 ante ვინ + და
უძლღს
om მერმე
ante quis + et
poterit: poteris(-im?) O
om rursus
- 7, 7 შინა
რააბაამ
- 7, 8 მარქუ] სოქუ
უფსკრულთა
om არა ante შთასრულ
ჯოჯღხეთა
არა post ცად[] არღა: ღ
additum manu scribae
super lineam; f 483 r¹
responderes mihi et diceres
abyssos, post quod + adhuc
om non ante descendi
non ante ascendi] nondum

- I. 7, 9 **om** არა
გკითხ
ცეცხლისაჲ
ante რომლისა + და
ვერცა მომიგო
nihilo] quid
et sine
potuit
- 7, 10 მიუგ
om მე¹
მაგისი **post** ყოფად
ხმის
om მე²
om თანა
არს **post** აღმოცენებულ
უძლე
თავთან . . . დატევნად]
დატევნად ჭურჭერმან
შენმან
comprehendere istud
tecum] tu
potuisti
poterit continere vas tuum
- 7, 11 მიუწდომელად
om იგი
უძლეს
ხმის
ყოფამან
უტრწნელისა
om illae
- 8, 1 ზედა ჩემსა
- 8, 2 უმჯობეს
ჩემი] ჩუენი **post** იყო
om ვნებასა . . . ყოფასა
me] nos
om pati et non intellegere
- 8, 3 **post** მადნარნი + იგი
ante იზრახეს + და
ჭრქუეს
post silvae + illae
ante cogitaverunt + et
- 8, 4 **post** მოვედიოთ + და
უბრძანოთ] ვჭბრძოთ
recte
post venite + et
imperabimus] bellum geremus
- 8, 5 იზრახეს
ჭრქუეს
- 8, 6 უბრძანოთ] ვჭბრძოთ
ადგილად ვე ჩუენდა
შევიდინოთ
imperabimus] bellum geremus
loco nobis

I. 8, 7	ცჳდ მოვიდა f 483 v ¹	vana
8, 8	ქჳშაჲ. ante quod + მათ	post contendit + eis
8, 9	რომელიმცა ¹] რომელი განამართლჳ om რომელიმცა ² განაცრუვჳ	om quem ²
P. 330 8, 10	ზრახჳს რომლითა მიხნი] თჳხნი	quo portarentur eius] sui
8, 11	ante მომიგო + და ჰსაჯე თავისა შენისა რად ვერ განჰსაჯე	ante respondit + et nihili] cuiuslibet
8, 12	მკჳდრთა ქუეყნისათა ქუეყანაჲ უძღონ recte post ზეცისაჲ + ხოლო	terra poterint autem: I poteritis post caelestia + solum
9, 1	om ხოლო დმერთო] უფალო კითხვაჲ გზათაჲ	om autem Deus] domine
9, 2	მომაგალისაჲ მის om მარადის	hoc] illa om cotidiana
9, 3	რომელ] და რამეთუ რომელი] რომელ შეიყუარჳ	quod] et quia
9, 4	წერილთანი ჩანან	scripturarum
9, 6	მე ყოხ] მიეოხ ჩუენ post მიხი + დიდი	faciet nobis post eius + magnum
10, 1	om მე უკჳეთუ f 484 r ¹ ოყოხ: o incerta სცხოზდე] ჰყო, post quod sequentia, errore ab I omissa, exhibet O:	fueris] faciet ut videtur vixeris] facies

- I. 10, 1 იწრაფის სოფელი ესე წარსლვად რამეთუვერ უძლებს დატევნად და ტვრთვად აღნათქუე- მსა ამას მრავალთასა . დარამეთუდატევებულ არს სალმობითა სოფე- ლი ესე და სავსე არს ურგიოთა . რამეთუ დაე- თესა უკეთურებამ მას ზედა
- 10, 4 ეგე მკითხმ
- 10, 5 არღარა om მის თანა მამკელს გამდემდვრელს იგი¹] მისი დაეთესა¹] ეთესა სადა²] რომელსა post კეთილი + იგი om apud ea
- 10, 6 თესლისამ ante რავდენნი(რაღ-) + და ante ნაყოფნი + იგი ყვნა ante აქა და რავდენნი] რავდენ
- 10, 7 post უკეთურებისა ras- ura 3 litterarum fecit] protulit
- 10, 8 კეთილთა მათ თესლთა- ნი bonorum illorum seminum რომელთაჲ რაჟდენ sic
- 11, 1 ოდენ²] ოდეს
- 11, 2 მრქუა მე| f 484 v¹ იწრაფი^{1, 2} om იგი
- post intelliges + festinat . mun- dus hic praeterire, quia non potest continere et sustinere repromissa illa multis, et quia impletus est miseriis mundus hic et plenus est turbatione, quia seminata est malitia super eum*
- om apud ea*
- ille¹] eius*
- ubi²] in quo*
- post bonum + illud*
- quantos¹] et quantos illos*
- fecit ante usque*
- om et ante quantos*

- I. 11, 3 მართალთა თვხ iustorum
 მათ თვხ] მათთა in promptuariis eorum
 გიდრე ოდენ] ვიდრემდე
 შრდმისა
- 11, 4 მათ ad eos
 ურიელ] ერემი Uriel] Eremi
- 11, 7 თქუბული repromissum] dictum
 საზომთაჲ
- 11, 8 მიუგჳ ante ecce + nunc
 ანე ეხერა + აწ ante
 საგსჳ ვართ ante ჩუენ plenii sumus ante nos
- 11, 9 post და + ნუ უკუე post et + ne igitur
 დაეყენოს
- 11, 10 om მე post მრქუა implentur
 ჰკითხჳ
 მიდგომილსა] მუცელ
 კმნულსა
 აღასრულნის implentur
 თუენი
 post ცხრანი + იგი post novem + illi
 უძლის potest
 მჳ
 ჰყრობად და retinere et
- 11, 11 post მრქუა + მე matrici] promptuario
 სამოსა] საუნჯესა sic
 ემსგავსნეს
- 11, 12 შობადისა terra dare id] matrix illa dare
 ისწრაფდეს terrae
 ქუეყანაჲ მღვმეად] სა-
 შოჲ იგი მღვმეად ქუე-
 ყნისაჲ
 მოვედრებულ | f 485 r¹
- 11, 13 om და om et
 გეუწყოს demonstrabit
 om ხილვაჲ om visionem . . . , videre
 რომელი; om თვხ
- 12, 1 მიუგჳ და ვთქუ post tuos + et
 ante თუ + და

- I. 12, 1 გიზნდეს videatur
 ვარ possum (I potes)
 მაუწყენ
 მეცა] ესეცა me] hoc
- 12, 2 არიანა
 რომელ . . . არიან] წარ- om quae . . . , sunt
 სლვადნი
- 12, 3 წარსტულნი
 უწყნი
 წარსლვადნი
 უწყნი
- 12, 4 იგავთაი parabolarum
- 12, 5 ესე] ესერა hoc] ecce
 ვიხილმ
 post საგუმილი + იგი post fornax + ille
 შეიწუებოდა, post quod post ardebat + et abiit
 + და წარცდა
 ვიხილმ
 დაშრა sic
 post კუამლი + იგი post fumus + ille
- P. 334 12, 6 რამეთუ] სოლო enim] autem
 შემდგოდ
 მისა
 საგსმ
- 12, 7 მოუტევა
 მძაფრი ფრიად post saeviter + multa
 post იგი + ფრიადი post illa + multa
- 12, 8 post წჳმამ + ეგე post pluvia + ista
 მაგის] მის isto] illo
- 12, 9 უმეტმ
- 13, 1 post მიუგმ + გედრებით post respondi + petitione
 post ცხოველ + და post vivus + quidem
 ვარ
 დლტა
- 13, 2 om ამის om hoc
 რომელ
 om მე²
 გითხრა | f 485 v¹

- I. 13, 2 მოკლინებულ
შენდა უწყებად tibi narrandum
არცა] არცაღათუ neque quidem
სახყიდლისა] სახწყუ- mercede] signo
ლისა
დღენა sic
- 13, 3 შეიპყრნეს
- 13, 4 om და ante მაშინ om et ante tunc
წყალი] ნაწილი aqua] pars (vel haereditas)
- 13, 5 სიცრუე
- 13, 6 უდაბნო; post quod om desertum vastatum
და
და რომელსა quas] et in quo
ჰხედავ post სოფელთა vides post regiones
იხილონ] იხილო videbunt] videbis
ქუეყანად უდაბნოდ velut terram desertam
- 13, 7 უკუეთუ მოგცეს] უკმო-
გცეს
ante იხილო + და ante videbis + et
სამისა tertium
- 13, 8 ante მეყსეულად + და ante subito + et
გამოზრწყინდეს
მოთვარს
დღესა] დამსა sic die] nocte
- 13, 9 გამოსწყუთეს distillabit
ქუეყანამან] ქვამან terra] lapis
- 13, 10 იძრვდიან contendunt] movebuntur
აერნი aëres
- 13, 12 სუფევდეს
om ფრად om valde
- 13, 13 ადგილნი მრავალნი loca multa
მოივლინოს dimittetur O: dimittet I
- 13, 14 და მგეცნი ante bestiae + et
- 13, 15 om და ante ტკბილნი ante dulces om et
ურთიერთას იბრძო- inter se configunt
დიან
- 13, 16 om მაშინ om tunc
სიბრძნე

I. 13, 16	განემორღს საუნჯედ თჳსა	recedet promptuarium suum
13, 17	პოვონ, post quod + და	post inveniri + et
P. 336	ცოდვამ და f 486 r ¹	
13, 18	om და ante ჰკითხვიდეს om და მახლობელი თქუას იმეიერ თქუას	om et ante interrogabit om et proximus
13, 19	ესვიდეს om კაცნი შეიმთხზნენ იყოს om სახლთა შინა მათთა და არა წარემართეს	speraverunt om homines erit: I iucundi erunt om in domibus . . . diriget se
13, 20	თუ ილოცვიდე] ილოცო om თუ ² და ¹] და om და ²	om si ^{1 2} quidem ¹] et om quidem ²
14, 1	შრომითა] შურიითა	labore] zelo (vel invidia)
14, 2	om ჩემდა განმამღიერა, ante quod + და და დამადგინა მე bis ზედა ante ჩემთა	om ad me ante confortavit + et statuit me bis
14, 3	დამცხა ფალტიელ	P'altiel
14, 5	უწყი post ისრაელსა + ზედა	super Israhel
14, 6	პირ ჰამც რამეთუ] რამთა	non enim] ut non
14, 7	წარვედ შჯდ დღემდე მოხუალ მაშინ] მერმე om და ante რამთა	noli tunc] rursus om et ante ut
14, 8	გან f 486 v ¹	

II. 1, 1	დღე ყოველ] შვიდ დღე om ვიგოდებდ და ვტი- როდე ჰურიელ	cotidie] septem dies om lamentabar et flebam Hurriel
1, 2	შემდგომად post დღეთა მერმე] მოვიდეს და გულს om მე	iterum] venerunt ante anxiaverunt + et
1, 3	შთაიგუა სული] გული ante ვიწყე + და მერმეცა post მაღლისა	spiritum] cor ante coepit + et iterum post Excelso
P. 338 2, 1	post ხეთა + მისთა	post arboribus + eius
2, 2	ს ^ჴ ლისთა sic	mundi] animae
2, 3	om და . . . შროშანი განადიდეს მდინარეს om იორდანე შწნებულთა სიონი შენდად	om et ex . . . lilium om Iordanem
2, 4	om დაბადებულთა post მფრინველთა + ცი- სათა post ტრედსა + ერთსა om დაბადებულთა შენ- თა იყავ ante ცხოვარი + ერთი	Sion tibi om creatis ¹ post volucris + caeli post columbam + unam om creatis tuis
2, 5	გან შექმნულთა; გან შექ- in ras. manu scri- bae om შენთა საკუთრად] საზებურო om შენდად om ერი რომელცა	fecisti] fuisti post ovis + una om tuis om tuum om populum
2, 6	antემხოლოდ + ყოველი ante ყოველთა + და	ante unigenitum + omnem ante apud + et

II. 2, 7	om და ante დახოტრგუ- ნენ ante მორწმუნეთა + და შჯუ ლისა f 487 r ¹	om et ante conculcaverunt ante credentes + et
2, 8	უბუე sic მოძიულს post სწავლაჲ + ჩემი	si] igitur post disciplina + mea = docere
3, 1	მერმს მოვიდა] მოივლინა	me venit] missus est
3, 3	დამიკვრდების მე უფროჲს] ნუ ფრიად om ფრიად დამბადებელისა მისისა	miratus sum forsan magis] num multum om multum
3, 4	მელმის] მესმის om ვიტყვ რამეთუ om მე	dolet me] audio om dico quia
3, 5	om და ante მნებავს	om et ante volo
3, 6	ვთქუ	
3, 7	მე ვიქმენ post საშოჲ + იგი სამარს post მე ²	factus sum post matrix + illa sepulcrum post mihi
P. 340 3, 8	ვიხილს ჭირი იხრატლისაჲ	necessitudinem
4, 1	აღმირიცხიან om მე წჳმისა წუეთნი	numerant pluviae guttas
4, 2	ბჭენი დაგშულთა საუ- ნჯეთანი შეყენებულნი სულნი	portas clausorum promptuario- rum inclusas animas
4, 3	პირი f 487 v ¹ რომელ არდა	nondum
4, 4	რომელცა om და ჯერ არს მიჩინებებს	om quidem me] monstravi
4, 5	რომლისაჲ	

- II. 4, 6 ვითარ მე] ვინ
უძღვს
post მკითრავ + მე
quomodo ego] quis
poterit
- 4, 7 თქემულისაგანსა
om ერთიგა
უძღვს
სამჯელისა ჩემისა
post უძღვს + ყოფად
post poteris + facere et
და
სიყუარულსა] სიხარ-
ულსა
om მას
ომეღვი იგი] ომეღვი
amorem illum] iocunditatem il-
lam
om illum
- 5, 1 ვთქუ
ჰე
სრულთა
om და ante რაჲ
om იგი
წინაწარგდენ
ჩუენსა . . . ჩუენ] ანუ
ჩუენ ანუ შემდგომთა
ჩუენთა
qui post nos] successores nostri
om aut nos
- 5, 2 პირველად
- 5, 3 მიუგვ
უძღვს
ყოფილთაჲ
ომეღვი^{1.2}
- 5, 4 დამბადებელისა
დაბა + დედად
ერთბამად | f 488 r¹
imponi] creari
- 5, 5 ვთქუ
სთქუ
om შენისა
om ვითარმედ
ბუნებითგან
post ერთად lacuna ap. O
non signata in MS. usque
ad II, 7, 1
dixisti
om tuo
om quoniam
post unum lacuna apud O non
signata in MS. usque ad II. 7, 1

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- II. 7, 1 post უფალო inc. iterum *post domine incipit iterum O*
 O
 თუალთა შენთა] შენსა *oculos tuos] te*
 post სამჯელი + შენი *post iudicium + tuum*
- 7, 2-3 om ზოლო აღსასრული *autem . . . II. 7, 3 sicut om O*
 ჩემ თჳს . რამეთუ
 om და ვიდრე ante და- *om et ante ante confirmationem*
 მტკიცებადმდე
 სასწორით *cum statera*
 ქართა
- 7, 4 post და¹⁻² + ვიდრე
 ქუხილისა] ქუეყანისა *tonitru] terrae*
 გამობრწყინებადმდე
- 7, 6 სიმტკიცე
 ძალთაჲ] ძლევათაჲ *potestatum] victoriarum*
 om და ვიდრე ante გა- *om et ante ante electionem*
 ნრჩევადმდე *om et ante ante nominationem*
 ანგელჳთა *om illius*
2. 344 7, 7 სიმაღლესა აერთა
 om ვიდრე ante სახელის *firmamentorum*
 დებად
 om მის
 სამყაროთაჲსა *et ante depositionem post Sionis*
 7, 8 და . . . სიონისაჲ] და სა- *fundamenti] mensurae*
 ჴომისა სიონისაჲსა და
 ვიდრე დადებამდე
- 7, 9 post და¹⁻² + ვიდრე
 ადბეჭდვამდე *qui thesaurizati sunt] thesauriza-*
 რომელნი დაუნჯებულ *torum*
 არიან] დაუნჯებულთა *propter credentes] credentibus suis*
 თჳს] თჳსთა
- 7, 10 გულს
 არა
- 8, 1 მიუგე *respondi (I errore respondit mihi)*
 ante რაჲ + და *ante quod + et*
 რაჲბამ
 აღს|ასრულისაჲ f 488 v¹

II. 8, 3-4 om და ესავი . დასაბამი *om et Esau . . . Iacob*
 მომავალისა სოფლი-
 სამ იაკობი

8, 6 ante შორის + და *ante inter + et*
 om სხუასა *om aliud*
 post ნუ + რას *post noli + quid*
 ისრაელ] ეზრა *Israel] Ezra*

9, 1 post მაუწყე + მე
 აღსახრულდისა
 რომელი
 om მე

9, 2 om მე
 გესმს
 სავსე

9, 3 უკუე *sic* *si] iam*
 post ადგილი + ეგე *post locus + iste*
 om ზედა *super quem] in quo*
 post ხდგა + და *post stas + et*
 დაეცემი

9, 5 რამეთუ იყო] და *fuit enim] et*
 ante ესერა + და *ante ecce + et*
 სიტყვასა *vocem sermonis*

10, 1 მოახლება
 მოხილვა
 om ზედა *om super*
 ქუეყანისათა
 ვნებულთა
 მავნებელთა მავნე- *afflictorum bis*
 ბელთა *bis*
 მათთა

10, 2 აღესრულეს
 om იგი¹ *om illa*
 სოფელი | f 489 r¹

10, 3 განემზადნენ] განემა- *praeparabuntur] commenta-*
 რტნენ *buntur*

P. 346 სამ + ყარღასა: *post m*
fragmentum incertae
litterae

- II. 10, 4 მიდგომილთა] მუცელ
ქმნულთა
ყრმანი უსრულნი *infantes imperfectos*
სამთვსა
ოთხთვსანი
ცხონდენ, *ante quod + ante vivent + et*
და
ხდებოდიან
- 10, 5 ყრმანი] ყანანი *infantes] campi*
იპოვნენ . . . აღორძინე- *invenientur . . . adulti] non*
ბულ] უთესველნი და- *seminati seminati invenientur*
თესულ იპოვნენ მეყსე- *subito ad crescendo*
ულად აღმოცენებულად
- 10, 6 *om* და *ante* საყვრსა *om et ante tuba*
- 10, 7 მათ ჟამთა შინა *horam] in illis temporibus*
- 10, 8 დაეყენენ
om სამად *om tertiam*
ჟამად ოდენ] ჟამადმდე
- 10, 9 *om* და *ante* იყოს *om et ante erit*
ამისსა
პირველ
ცხონდეს
იხილონ *videbunt*
მაცხოვარებაჲ
სოფლისაჲ
- 10, 12 დაშრტქს
- 10, 13 *ante* ყუაოდის + და *ante florebit + et*
გრწნილებაჲ] ბოროტი *corruptela] malum*
ჴემმარიტებაჲ] სარწმუ- *veritas] fides*
ნებაჲ
აჴა ოდენ] აჴამომდე
- 11, 1 *om* ქუეყანამან *om terra*
om ამისა თვს: ამისა | *om propter hoc*
f 489 v¹
- 11, 2 თხრობად მივედ *narrare veni*
- 11, 3 ილოცო
უფროჲს ამისა
სმენით

II. 11, 3 წინაშე მაღლისა post მე- coram Excelso post tua
ნი

11, 4 ante რამეთუ + და ante quia + et
om შენით om tua post pueritia

11, 5 om მე

11, 6 ante ნუ + და ante noli + et
იწრაფი
om თვს om propter
შესძრწუნდე tremescas: tremescat I

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III. 1, 1 ვიმარხევდ იeiunabam
შვდთაჲ მათ] შვდ დღჳ hebdomadas illas] septem dies

1, 2 მას ღამისა ante ჩემ in illa nocte ante apud
om კუალად om rursus
შემძრწუნებულ turbabatur] fuit turbatum

1, 3 ante ვიწყე + და ante coepi + et
დაიწუებოდა] შეიწრდე- inflammabatur] angustiabatur
ბოდა

2, 1 ante უფალო + და ვთქუ ante Dominus + et dixi
დასაბამისა გან წინაით
ღამესა] დღესა nocte] die
მან] შემან illud] tuum

2, 2 სმენილ

2, 3 om ვე om quoque
post საუნჯეთა + გან
მოვლინებაჲ

2, 4 ante მერმე + და ante iterum + et
წყალნი | f 490^r₁
ზედა

ქუეშჳ
დადგენ] დაშთენ starent] manerent

2, 5 დღისა om die
om და სათესველად om et ad seminationem
სამკაულად messem] ornamentum

2, 6 ხოლო] რამეთუ autem] enim
გამოვდგენვიდა egressus est: I egrediebatur
ante მეცხეულად + და ante statim + et

- III. 2, 7 ante განემზადა + და; et praeparatum est omne
 post autem + ყოველი
 super lineam manu
 scribae
 სიმრავლჳ
 ურიცხეთაჲ
 ante გემოდს + და
 და უმსგავსებელი
 om და ante ხჳ
 და ურიცხ
 სულწელებათაჲ
 post ესე + ყოველი
 დღესა მესამესა
 მეჰქმენ
 innumerabilium
 ante gustatu + et
 et ante incomparabiles
 ante arbores om et
 et ante innumerabiles
 post hoc + omne
 die tertio
- 2, 8 გამობრწყინებაჲ
 ნათობაჲ, post quod +
 და ვარსკულავთა ცვა-
 ლებაჲ
 post უბრძანე + მას corr.
 e მათ manu scribae
 რომელი
 შესაქმედმდე
 post illuminare + et stellas mu-
 tari
 post imperasti + ei, corr. ex eis
- 2, 9 გამოცემაჲ
 post საცხოვართა + და
 post animalia + et
- 350 2, 10 ამის
 hoc O: illo I
- 2, 11 დაიმარხნენ
 დაბადებულთაგანნი
 მეორესა მას post უწოდე
 ველთაჲ sic
 secundum illum post nominasti
 Velt'ara] velt'ay (= camporum)
- 2, 12 განაშორენ
 ნაწ|ილმან f 490 v¹
 დადგეს
 tertio] septimo
- 2, 13 მესამესა] მეშვიდესა
 დაიმკვდრა
 ველთარას, post quod +
 მიევ
 მეშვიდჳ
 Velt'aras, post quod + dedisti

- III. 2, 14 om იგინი *om eos*
თჳსცა
- 2, 15 გამოღებად *post animalia + et bestias et*
post პირუტყუთაჲ + მგე- *volucres*
ცთაჲ და მფრინველთაჲ
- 2, 16 დაადგინე მათ ჴედა *constituisti super eam*
om ჴედაჲ *omnibus illis*
რომელ პირველ
ქმნულნი
- 2, 17 მის გან] მისა *ex eo postea post eum*
დაწესებულ] დაბადე- *ordinamur] creamur*
ბულ
om ერი რომელ გამოი- *om populus quem eligisti*
რჩიე
- 2, 18 წინაშე შენსა] შენ წინაშე
- 2, 19 ხოლღ] ვითარმედ *aliae autem] quoniam aliae*
ადამისით; om გან
- 2, 20 ნერწყუვაჲ *stillicidia vasorum*
ნაწუთონი კასრისანი
სიმდიდრე
- 2, 21 om აჴა *nostri] super nos, post quod + et*
post ჩუენ + ჴედა და *imperat nobis et conculcat nos*
მთავრობს და დამთრ-
გუნავს
- 2, 22 პირმშო და *post primogenitum + et*
საკუთარ] საწებურღ *ante traditi + et nunc*
ante მიცემულ + და აწ
- 2, 23 შეჴქმ + ენ: *rasura* 1 lit. *saeculum nostrum] nos*
დაგჴმკჴდრებებს (sic *quoque* I)
ხოფელი ჩუენი] ჩუენ *om factum est*
- 3, 1 om იყო
om მე
ღამესა] ღღღსა *nocte] die*
- 3, 2 სიტყუანი | f 491 r¹
- 3, 3 *post* ჩემღ *lacuna apud* *post mi lacuna apud* O in ms. non
O usque ad v. 10, 4 *indicata usque ad* III. 10, 4

III. 10. (4) და მრქუა . გაუწყო შენ ესეცა: (5) ხოლო შენ ნუ შეჭრაცხ თავსა შენსა მათ თანა . რომელთა შეურაცხ მყვეს მე ნუცა შეჭრაცხები მათ თანა რომელნი ტანჯვად არიან: (6) რამეთუ იბოვების ფასი საქმეთა შენთაჲ წინაშე მაღლისა . და გამოვიცხადნას შენ იგი უკუანამცნელსა მას ყამსა:

11. (1) ხოლო სიკუდილისა თჳს ესე არს სიტყუაჲ . ოდეს გამოვიდეს მაღლისა გან ბრძანებამა იგი ყამთაჲ . სიკუდილი კაცისაჲ . (2) და მოხპოლვამ გორცთაჲ სულისა გან . რამთა მიიტევს სული იგი მომავლინებელისა თაყუანის ცემად დიდებასა მაღლისასა: (3) უკუეთუ იყოს მათგანი რომელთა შეურაცხ მყვეს მე . და გზანი მაღლისანი არა დაიცვნეს და შჯული მისი შეურაცხ ყვეს და (მღ)შიშთა მისთა არა ემსგავნეს იგი . (4) და სულნი მათნი საუნჯედ არა შევიდენ . (5) არამედ სუმიდენ ამიერიითვე ტანჯვასა ურვილნი და ჭუვნიერნი შჯდთა გზათა თჳს: (6) პირველი გზაჲ რამეთუ შეურაცხ ყვნეს გზანი მაღლისანი: (7) მეორეს რამეთუ ვერდარა უძლეს მიქცევად და კეთილისა

10. (4) Et dixit: Enarrabo tibi hoc quoque: (5) tu autem noli reputare temetipsum cum illis qui spreverunt me, neque reputare te cum illis, qui torquendi sunt. (6) Invenitur enim pretium factorum tuorum coram Excelso, et revelabit tibi illud in novissimo illo tempore.

11. (1) De morte autem hic est sermo: quando veniet ab Excelso iussio illa temporum, mors hominis (2) et spoliatio carnum ab anima, ut revertatur anima illa ad mittentem eam ad adorandam gloriam Excelsi. (3) Si erit ex illis qui spreverunt me et vias Excelsi non conservaverunt et legem eius neglexerunt et timentibus eum non comparaverunt se illi, (4) et animae eorum in thesauros (*sg.*) non intrant, (5) sed manebunt abhinc quoque cruciamento vexati et afflicti propter septem vias. (6) Prima via, quia spreverunt vias Excelsi: (7) Secunda, quia

III. საქმედ რაათა ცხონდენ: (8) მესამე გზამ რამეთუ ჰხედვიდენ მათ წინაშე მოსაგებელსა მას კეთილსა რამეთუ ერწმუნნეს აღთქმათა მათ მაღლისათა: (9) მეოთხე გზამ რომელ ჰხედვიდენ საუკუნეთა მათ სატანჯველთა მათთა: | (10) მეხუთე გზამ რომელ ჰხედვიდენ სხუათა მათ სულთა ანგელოზთა მიერ დაცვულთა: (11) მეექვსე გზამ რომელ ჰხედვიდენ აწ ვე მომავალსა მას სატანჯველსა: (12) მეშვიდე გზამ . რომელ არს უფრომს ყოველთა მათ თქმულთა გზათა. (13) რამეთუ დადნებოდინ სირცხელითა და განკვდებოდინ კდემითა და დადნებოდინ შიშითა . (14) რამეთუ ჰხედვიდენ დიდებასა მაღლისასა წინაშე აწ ვე ცხორებასა მათსა . შესცოდეს და რომლისა წინაშე უკჳანამსკენელსა მას ქამსა დაშჯად არიან .

12. (1) ხოლო რომელთა დაიცვნეს გზანი მაღლისანი . ესე არს განახლება . განწესებად არიან ჭურთა მათ გან გრწნილებისათა . (2) რამეთუ რაოდენ ქამ დაადგრენ ამას სოფელსა . ჰმონებდეს მაღალსა შრომით ყოველსა ქამსა . დუაწლსა დაუთმეს რაათა დაიცვენ მომცემელისა მათისა შჯული: (3) ამის თჳს ესე არს სიტყუა (<) მოსაგებელისა მათისამ შჯდთა დაწესებათა მათ: (4) პირველი წესი მათი ესე არს . რამეთუ შრომითა მათითა იღუაწეს . რაათა სძლონ რომელნი იგი მათ თანა შექმნულ არიან გულის სიტყუანი ბოროტნი . რაათა ატუნნენ იგინი ცხორებისა გან სიკუდიდ: (5) მეორე წესი ესე . რამეთუ ხედვიდენ სიმართლესა¹ მას სულთა უღმრთოთასა და სამყაროსა მას სატანჯველსა მათსა: (6) მესამე წესი მათი . რამეთუ ესმოდის წამებად შემოქმედისა მათისამ რამეთუ ცხორებასა მათსა დაიმარხეს² შჯული | რომელსა ერწმუნნეს: (7) მეოთხე წესი რაათა გულის ხმა ყონ განსახუენებელი რომელ იგი აწ საუნჯეთა . . .

¹ Ms. სიმართლესა

² Ms. დაიმარხნეს

³ Ms. მეხუთე

III. iam non potuerunt reverti et bonum facere ut viverent. (8) Tertia via, quia vident coram se beneficium illum bonum, quia repromissis illis Excelsi crediderunt. (9) Quarta via, quia videbant aeterna illa tormenta eorum. (10) Quinta via, qui vident alias illas animas ab angelis conservatas. (11) Sexta via, qui videbant nunc veniens illud cruciamentum. (12) Septima via, quae est maior omnibus illis praedictis viis, (13) quia tabescunt pudore et fatigantur confusione et tabescunt pavore, (14) quia videbant gloriam Excelsi coram nunc in vita eorum; peccaverunt et coram quo in novissimo illo tempore iudicandi sunt.

12. (1) Qui autem conservaverunt vias Excelsi, hoc est renovationem, ordinandi sunt e vasis illis corruptionis, (2) quia quanto tempore steterunt hoc in mundo, serviebant Excelso labore omni tempore; certamen passi sunt ut conservarent legislatoris eorum legem. (3) Propterea hic est sermo < > de mercede eorum septem ordinum illorum. (4) Primus ordo eorum hic est quia labore illorum certati sunt, ut vincerent eos apud quos creata sunt cogitamenta mala, ut tentarent illos a vita in mortem. (5) Secundus ordo hic quia videbant iudicium illud animarum impiarum et firmamentum illud cruciatus eorum. (6) Tertius ordo illorum quia audiunt testimonium creatoris illorum, quia in vita eorum servaverunt legem, cui credunt. (7) Quartus¹ ordo, ut intellegant requiem, quam nunc in promptuariis. . . .

¹ Ms. quintus.

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- III. 12, 7 განისუენებენ requiescunt: requiescebant I
ანგელოზისა angelo
დაცუელნი] ცხოველნი conservati] vivi
- 12, 8 მესუთჱ quintus
რადთა
გრწნილებისა მის გან corruptela illa (*sic apud I*) ante
წინანდელისა antecedente
om რადთამცა² om ut²
- 12, 9 ჰხედვიდეს angustiam
P. 360 იწრებასა post illam + et
post მას + და laboris] laboris eorum
ნამრღმისასა] შრღმისა
მათისასა
- 12, 10 მეექუსჱ fulsuri sunt] apparituri sunt
გამობრწყინებად] გა-
მოჩინებად
post არიან + ბრწყინვა- splendide
ლედ
ვითარ
უგრწნელებით
- 12, 11 om პირველთა om primis
იქადოდთან] იქმოდთან gloriantur] agunt
ულმობელობითა] უგმო- immunitate] conviciis
ბელობითა
om და იხარებდენ უკდე- om et gaudebant sine pervicaci-
მელებითა tate
- 12, 12 იწრაფდენ videre faciem eius
ხილვად ante პირსა
იდიდნენ
მიიღონ
- 12, 13 განწესებანი multorum] eorum
მრავალთანი] მათთანი sed hi] hi autem
...] სოლო
- 13, 1 მოცემულ
post რომელნი + იგი |
f 492 v¹
გამოვლენ

III. 13, 1	om რამათა ესე ყოველი რამელ	<i>om ut: videbunt hoc omne quod: hoc I</i>
13, 2	om მე შჯღთა დღეთა რამათა] რამეთუ om იხილონ პირველ იგო om და ante მაშინ	<i>ut] quia om videant istos] illos om et ante tunc</i>
14, 1	om და მე ესეცა	<i>om quidem mihi hoc quoque</i>
14, 2	ვითარ] მეა ლხად	
14, 3	შვილნი მამადედათა om თუ ^{3, 4, 5} ძმათა ¹ მასლდებელი მეგნიერი	<i>patribus] parentibus (patribus- matribus) adfinis amicus</i>
14, 4	რამეთუ ჰპოვე ჩემთა] შენთა, post quod + და	<i>ante invenisti + quia meos] tuos, post quod + et</i>
14, 5	დღმ om და ჴემმარიტებისაჲ] სა- რწმუნოებისაჲ	<i>om et veritatis] fidei</i>
14, 6	სახმ om თუ ^{1 2} მეგოდარმან] საყუარე- ლმან	<i>amicus] carus</i>
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14, 7	თუმცა ^{1, 2, 3}] მცა	
14, 8	მაშინ] მერმე მის თჳს ვერ ვინ om ვის თჳს ² აგნის	<i>tunc] rursus pro eo potuerit nemo om pro quopiam potest pati</i>

III. 14. (9) რამეთუ მაშინ თითოეულად თჳსი სამართალი ზე აქუნდეს:

f. 493r

15. (1) მიუგე და ვარქუ და ვითარ მიპოვნიეს წერილი . რამეთუ ევედრა პირველად აბრაჰამი სოდეძმელთა თჳს და მოხე ერისა თჳს რომელ | შეხვდეს უდაბნოსა ზედა . (2) და ისლ ნაკვსი ისრაელისა თჳს . და სამოელ ხაულის დღეთა მათ ზედა . (3) <და> დავითი¹ წყუედისა მის თჳს ერისადას და სოდეძმინი სიწმიდისა თჳს . (4) და ელიაჲ წჳმისა თჳს და მკჳდრისა აღდგინებისა თჳს . (5) და ესეკია ქალაქისა თჳს და ერისა დღეთა მათ სენაქერიმისთა . და მრავალნი მრავალთა თჳს ევედრნეს: (6) უკუე აწ ოდეს გრწნილებამ ესე აღმობცენდების < > . ევედრნეს მართალნი უღმრთო(თა) თჳს . რად მე არა მერმეცა² იყოზ ეგრე ვე: (7) მომიგო და მრქუა მე რამეთუ სოფლისა ამის თჳს აღსახრული არდა არს . არცადა საუკუნოდ დიდებამ ღმრთისაჲ წარმოდგომილ არს . (8) მის თჳს ევედრნეს ძლიერნი უღმრთოთა თჳს: (9) ხოლო დღესა მას სამჯელისასა . რამეთუ აღსახრული არს ჟამთაჲ ამათ და დასაბამი მერმისა მის სოფლისაჲ უკუდავებისაჲ ჟამთაჲ . (10) რომლისა გან წარცდა გრწნილებამ და დაირღუა ცოდვაჲ და განქარდა სიცრუეჲ . განცხადნა სიმართლჳ და აღმობცენდა ჳემმარიტებამ:

¹ Ms. დავითის

² Ms. მერმეცა

14. (9) Quia tunc quisque suam iustitiam portabit.

15. (1) Respondi et dixi: Et quomodo inveni scripturam, quia petit primum Abraham pro Sodomitis et Moyses pro populo qui peccaverunt super deserto, (2) et Iesus filius Nun pro Israhel, et Samuel Saulis in diebus illis (3) <et> David¹ pro exstirpatione populi, et Solomon pro emundatione, (4) et Elias pro pluvia illa et pro illius heredis resurrectione, (5) et Ezekia pro civitate et pro populo in diebus illis Senacherim et multi pro multis intercesserunt. (6) Nunc igitur quando corruptibile illud increscit, intercesserunt iusti pro impiis: quare non iterum quoque erit sic? (7) Respondit et dixit mihi quia huic saeculo finis nondum est, necdum aeterna gloria Dei exhibita est: (8) propterea intercesserunt fortes pro impiis. (9) In die autem iudicii, quia finis est temporum horum et initium futuri illius mundi immortalitatis temporum, (10) a quo pertransiit corruptela et destructum est peccatum et eradicatum est falsum, apparuit iustitia et increvit veritas.

¹ Ms. Davidis.

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III. 23, tit. om ღოცვისა . . . ante და + მისა ქუეყანიოთ თქუა *om orationis post ascendit + is a terra*

23, 1 უკუნისამდე

23, 2 სიმაღლეთა *excelsa*

მაღალთა

ზესკნელთა

om აერთა

om aëribus

რომლისა

23, 3 რომლისა²

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23, 4 რომლისა

მოხედვამან

23, 5 რომლისა

განაგმნის

23. (5) დააწინგნის მთასნი და ჭეშმარიტებაჲ წამებულ არს: (6) ისმინე უფალო გმაჲ მონისა შენისაჲ და ყური მოყავ ქმნულსა გელთა შენთასა

23. (5) Tabescere fecit montes et veritas testificata est. (6) Audi, domine, vocem servi tui, et aurem praebe creaturae manuum tuarum . . .

23, 7 post გარ + და

post sum + quidem

P. 368 om ვიტყვდი . . . ამას

om loquar . . . hoc

23, 8 ცოდვათა] ღოცვათა

peccata] preces sic

მოხედე

მსახურებათა ერისა შე-
ნისათა

servitutes populi tui

23, 9 ნუცა] და ნუ

უშჯულოთასა

impiorum: impii I

ადოქუმათა

დაიმარხვენ

23, 10 შენ წინაშე

ივინი] მათი

III. 23. (10) რომელ¹ნი სახიერებით² შესნა შიმსა³ ერწყუნებთან: (11) ნუგა ჯე⁴რ გ⁵იხნ წარწყმედლა მსათი რომელთა სახენი პირუტყუთა მსგავს არიან. არამედ მოიხილე¹ მათ ზედა

f. 494r

23. (12) ბორღტა მგეცთა სახ⁶მ არიან. არამედ მოიგსენე სიყუარული მათი. რომელნი მარადის დიდება(სა) შესნა ესვენ. (13) რამეთუ ჩუენგა პირველნი კრწნილებისა სახესა დავადგერთით. ზოლო შენ ცოდვილთა თჳს მოწყალე¹ ხარ: (14) უკუეთუ რომელთა ესე საქმ²ს არა გუაქუს და გინდეს შეწყალებაჲ ჩუენი და სრულიად მაშინ | მოწყალე² იყოს სახელი შენი. (15) რამეთუ მართალთანი საქმენი წინაშე შესნა არიან თუ საქმეთა გან მიიღონ მისაგებელი. (16) ანუ რამ მე არს კაცი და ნათესავი განგრწნადი ვითარმცა განჰმწარდი მათ თჳს: (17) ჭეშმარიტად არა ვინ არს კაცთაგანი რომელმანმცა არა შეგცოდა: (18) ამით განცხადებულ იყოს ქველისი საქმ²ს შენი ოდეს შეიწყალნე რომელთა იგი არა აქუს ძალი საქმეთა კეთილთაჲ:

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24. (1) მომიგო და მრქუა მე. მართლიად სთქუ ყოველი ვე და მსგავსებდა სიტყუათა მაგათ შენთა ებრ ყოფად არს. (2) და ნანდჯლ არა მოიგსენნე საქმენი იგი ცოდვილთანი. არცა სიკუდილი მათი არცა საშჯელი წყმედისა მათისაჲ. (2a) არამედ ვისარებდე მე მართალთა მათ ზედა საქმესა³. რამეთუ ერთ არს ად(დ)გომამ მათი და მოსაგებელი: (3) ვითარცა სთქუ ეგრეცა არს: (4) რამეთუ ვითარცა მუშაკმან სთესის მრავალი თესლი და ნერგი მრავალი დასთესის. (4b) ზოლო ეამსა მას აღმოცენებისასა არა ყოველი თესლი აღმოცენდის. არცა ყოველი ნერგი განიგის: (4c) ეგრეცა რომელნი არიან ამას სოფელსა და ყოველნი ცხონდენ არა⁴:

f. 494v

25. (1) მიუგე და ვარქუ. უკუეთუ ვჰპოვე ძადლი წინაშე შესნა. ვიტყოდი. (2) თესლი თუ მუშაკისაჲ არა აღმოცენდის. რამეთუ არა მოვიდის წჳმამ მას ზედა და განირყუნის. (3) ზოლო კაცი გელთა შინა შენთა შეიქმნა და შესნა ხატსა ემსგავსა. (.) რამეთუ ემსგავსა თესლი მუშაკსა: | (4) ნუ წარსწყმედ უფალო. არამედ უღზინე ერსა შესნა და შეიწყალე სამკვდრებელი შენი. რამეთუ შენი დაბადებული გეწყალის:

26. (1) მომიგო და მრქუა მე. ამის სოფლისათა (.) და მის სოფლისათა (.). (2) რამეთუ ფრთად და გაკლს შენ

¹ Ms. მოიხილ⁶² Ms. მოწყალ⁶³ Ms. საქმ⁶სა⁴ Malim არა ცხონდენ

23. (10) Qui comitate tuo pavori credunt, (11) neque placeat tibi destruere illos, quorum formae bestiis (ἄλογα) similes sunt, sed respice super eos . . .

23. (12) Malarum bestiarum (θηρpes) ora sunt, sed recordare amoris eorum, qui semper gloriae tuae confidunt, (13) quia nos quoque primi *in* corruptibilitatis forma mansimus, tu autem propter peccatores misericors es. (14) Si *nos* qui hoc opus non habemus et velis misereri nostri, et prorsus tunc misericors erit nomen tuum, (15) quia iustorum opera coram te sunt, si ab operibus accipient mercedem: (16) aut quid est homo et genus corruptibile, quout amariceris de illis. (17) Vere nemo est ex hominibus qui non peccavit *in* te. (18) Hoc enim revelabitur bonitas tua, quando miserebit te eorum, qui non habent fortitudinem operum bonorum.

24. (1) Respondit et dixit mihi: Recte dixisti cuncta et similitudo sermonum istorum tuorum sic faciundus est. (2) Et vere non recordatus es operum illorum peccatorum neque mortis eorum neque iudicii destructionis eorum, (2a) sed iocundabor super iustorum illorum opus. Unum enim est resurrectio illorum et merces: (3) sicut dixisti, sic quoque est. (4) Quia sicut laborator serit multum semen et plantas multas seminat; (4b) tempore autem illo auctus non omne semen crescit, neque omnis planta accomodat se. (4c) Istoque modo qui sunt in hoc mundo nec omnes salvabuntur.

25. (1) Respondi et dixi: Si inveni gratiam coram te, dicam: (2) Si semen agricolae non ascendit, quia non venit pluvia super id et corrumpitur. (3) Homo autem creatus est in manibus tuis, et tuae imagini adsimilatus est, (.) quia adsimilatum est semen laboratori; (4) ne destruxeris, domine, sed consolare populum tuum et miserere haereditatis tuae; tuae enim creaturae misereris.

26. (1) Respondit et dixit mihi: Huius mundi (.) et illius mundi (.), (2) quia multum quippe abest a te

III. ვითარცა უძლე შენ შეყუ(ა)რებად დაბადებულისა ჩემისა უფრომს ჩემსა . (3) რამეთუ შენ ეგერა თავიცა შენი მრავალ ჯერ შეჭრაცხე უღმრთოთა თანა . არამედ ნუ იყოფინ . (4) რამეთუ ამის თვსცა საკვრველ იყო წინაშე მაღლისა . რამეთუ დაიმდბლჳ თავი შენი . რამეთუ შენ თვს თავი შენი არად შეჭრაცხე მრავალთა¹ თანა რაითა უფრომს იდიდღს : (5) ხოლო აწ მრავლითა უბადრუკებითა დაგლახაკნეს მკვდრნი ამის სოფლისანი ამის თვს . რამეთუ მრავალნი ამპარტავანებითა ვიდოდეს . (6) ხოლო შენ თვს გულის ხმა ყავ და მსგავსთა შენთა ეძიებდ დიდებასა : (7) რამეთუ თქვენ თვს განდებულ არს სამოთხჳ და დანერგულ არს ხჳ იგი ცხორებისაჲ . და განმზადებულ არს მომავალი სასუფეველი . (8) განმზადებულ არს ფუფუნებაჲ და აღმსნებულ არს (.) და განმზადებულ არს განსასუენებელი . და განგებულ არს საშუებელი დასაბამითგან და აღმოცენებულ არს ძელი იგი სიბრძნისაჲ . (9) აღბეჭდულ არს თქვენ გან საღმრძაჲ . დაშრეტილ არს (.) თქვენ გან სიკუდილი . დამალულ არს ჯოჯოხეთი . (10) ვტოლილ არს გრწნილებაჲ . წარტდეს და დაივიწყნეს საღმრძანი . გამოცხადანა სრული იგი ფასი უკუდავებისაჲ . (11) ნუღარა შესძინებთ კითხვად მრავალთა მათ თვს¹ წარსაწყმედელთა . (12) რამეთუ მათგა მიიღეს აზნაურებაჲ და შეურაცხ ყვეს მაღალი და შჯული მისი დააკნინეს . და გზანი მისნი განაქარვნეს უფრომს და ღირსნი მისნი დათრგუნეს : (13) თქუეს გულსა შინა მათსა არა არს ღმერთი . ამის თვსცა უწყიან სიკუდილი მათი : (14) ვითარცა თქვენ გულის თქუმული იგი² კეთილი . ეგრეცა მათ თვს წყურის სატაფჯველსა . რამეთუ განზადებულ არს . (15) და არა თუ მაღალსა უნდა მოხპოლვამ კაცთაჲ . (16) არამედ ესე რომელ დაებეჭდნეს შეაგინეს სახლი შემოქმედისა მათისაჲ . და არა ჰმადლობდეს მას რომელმან განუშადა მათ კეთილი . (17) ხოლო აწ ამის თვს სამჯელი ჩემი მოახლებულ არს . რომელ არა მრავალთა თვს უწყებულ არს . არამედ შენ ხოლო და მსგავსთა შენთა მცირედთა :³

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VII. 3. (1) მიუგე და ვარქუ ვიტყოდე წინაშე შენსა უფალ . (2) აჰა ესერა წარვიდე ვითარცა მიბრძანე მე და გულის ხმა უყო რომელ ეგე აწ არს ერი (2b) და მერმჳ რომელნი შობად არიან . (3) ვინ გულის ხმა უყოს მათ . რამეთუ სოფელი ესე ბნელსა

¹ leg. მართალთა

³ ante ოგო ras. 1 lit.

² post თვს ras. 8 litt.

⁴ post დ ras 1 lit.

quin possis tu amare creaturam meam plus quam ego, (3) quia tu ecce temetipsum quoque frequenter reputavisti cum impiis: sed ne sit ita, (4) quia et propter hoc mirabilis eris coram Excelso, quia humiliasti temetipsum, quia pro te temetipsum nihili reputavisti cum multis¹ ut magis glorificerit. (5) Nunc autem multa miseria miserabiles effecti sunt habitatores huius mundi propter hoc, quia multi in superbia ambulaverunt. (6) Pro te autem intellige et pro similibus tuis inquire gloriam. (7) Vobis enim apertus est paradisu et plantata est arbor illa vitae et praeparatum est veniens regnu; (8) praeparata est felicitas et aedificata est < > et praeparata est requies et constituta est amoenitas ab initio et ascensum est lignu illud sapientiae. (9) Signata est a vobis infirmitas; exstincta est < > a vobis mors; absconsus est Orcus. (10) Fugit corruptibile: abierunt et oblitae sunt infirmitates. Revelatum est completu illud pretiu immortalitatis. (11) Noli adhuc inquirere ad rogandu pro multis illis periturorum, (12) quia illi quoque acceperunt libertatem et spreverunt Excelsu et legem eius neglexerunt et vias eius destruxerunt; et immo vero iustos eius conculcaverunt. (13) Dixerunt in corde eorum: Non est Deus; propter hoc et sciunt mortem suam. (14) Sicut vobis *manet* dictu illud bonu, sic quoque pro eis sitis cruciatus, quia praeparatus est, (15) et nisi Excelsu voluisset destruere homines, (16) sed illi qui signati sunt coinquinaverunt domum creatoris eorum, neque gratiabantur illi qui praeparavit illis bonu. (17) Nunc autem propter hoc iudiciu meum propinquu est, quod non propter multos nuntiatu est, sed tibi solum et similibus tuis paucis.

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3. (1) Respondi et dixi: Loquar coram te, domine. (2) Ecce abibo sicut praecepisti mihi et intellegere faciam istu qui nunc est populu; (2b) et iteru qui nascendi sunt quis intellegere faciet eos, (3) quia mundus hic in tenebris est, et incolae eius

¹ l. iustis.

VII. შინა არს . და მკვდრნი მისნი უნათლო არიან . (4) რამეთუ შჯუ-
ლი შენი დაიწუა . და მის გამო არა უწყის რომელნი აქამომდე
f. 495v ქმნულ არიან ანუ მერმე საქმედ არიან: (5) უკუეთუ ვბოვე
მადლი წინაშე შენსა შთასაცუმელი სული წმიდაა . (5b) და და-
ვწერო ყოველი რომელი ყოფილ არს | სოფელსა ამას დასაბა-
მით გან რამ წერილ იყო შჯულსა შენსა . (5c) რამთა უძღონ
კაცთა ბოვნად ალაგთა შენთა და რომელთა უნდეს ცხოვრება
საუკუნოდ გამდიდინენ გზანი შენნი:

4. (1) მომიგო და მრქუა მე . მივედ და შეკრიბე ერი და
ამცენ მათ რამთა არა გეძიებდენ შენ ორმეოც დღე . (2) და
შენ განჰმზადე ფიცრები მრავალი < >

4. (5) ამას ჟამსა და იწყე წერად:

5. (1) და წარვედ ვითარცა მიბრძანა მე უფალმან და შეკვრიბე
ყოველი ერი და ვარქუ . (2) ისმინენ ისრაელ სიტყუანი ესე .
(3) მწირობით მწირ¹ იყვნეს მამანი ჩუენნი ეგვბტს შინა და
იგსნეს იგინი მიერ . (4) და მოიდეს შჯული ცხოვრებისაჲ რო-
მელი ვერ დაიცვეს² რომელსა³ თქუენცა შემდგომად⁴ მათსა
გარდავეჰკედით (5) და მოგვეა თქუენ სამკვდრებელად სიონი .
(6) არამედ თქუენ და მამათა თქუენტა უშჯულოებაჲ ჰყავთ
და არა დაიმარხენით გზანი მისნი რომელ გამცნო თქუენ . (7)
რამეთუ მადალი მსაჯული სიმართლისაჲ არს: აღიღო თქუენ
გან ჟამი იგი მომადლებული . (8) და თქუენ ეგერა აჟა ხართ
და მამანი ჩუენნი რომელნი შინა არიან: (9) უკუეთუ იჴმნეთ
გონებათა თქუენტა გან უკეთურთა და თუ გან(ს)წავლნენ
გულნი თქუენნი . და ცხოველნი დაიცვნეთ და მკუდარნი შეი-
წყალნეთ: (10) რამეთუ სამჯელი სიკუდილისაჲ უკუანა მოი-
წიოს ოდეს მეორედ განსცხოვლდეთ . (11) და სიმართლისა
სახელი გამოჩნდეს და უღმრთოთა < > ემსილოს . (12)
f. 496r ხოლო ჩუენდა ნუ ვინ მოვალნ ნუ | ცა მეძიებნ ვინ ორმეოც
დღე:

6. (1) და წარვიყვანენ მე ხუთნი კაცნი ვითარცა მამცნო მე .
და წარვედით კელად და დავადგერიოთ მუნ . (2) და იყო შე-
დგომად ზვალისა აჰა ესერა გმაჲ მიწოდა მე და მრქუა: (3)
ეზრა ადადე ბირი შენი და შესუ რომელი შეგასუა შენ . (4) და

¹ post მწირ ras. 1 lit.

² Ms. რომელითა; correxi

³ -ს in ras.

⁴ Ms. შემდგომდგოდ

sine luce sunt, (4) quia legem tuam combusserunt? Et propter hoc non scit *eos* qui usque nunc creati sunt aut postea *eos* qui creandi sunt. (5) Si inveni gratiam coram te missum spiritum sanctum, (5b) et scribam omne quod fuit in mundo hoc ab initio quod scriptum erat in lege tua, (5c) ut possint homines invenire semitas tuas, et qui velint vitam aeternam exquaerant vias tuas.

4. (1) Respondit et dixit mihi: Vade et congrega populum et certiores fac eos ne quaerant te XL diebus, (2) et tu praepara tabulas multas.

4. (5) hoc in tempore et incipe scribere.

5. (1) Et abii sicut praecepit mihi dominus et congregavi omnem populum et dixi: (2) Audi, Israhel, verba haec: (3) peregrinatione peregrinati sunt patres nostri in Aegypto, et liberati sunt illi hinc, (4) et acceperunt legem vitae quam non *potuerunt* custodire quam vos quoque post eos transgressi estis, (5) et dedit vobis in haereditatem Sion, (6) sed vos et patres vestri iniquitatem fecistis, et non servastis vias eius quas praecepit vobis. (7) Excelsus enim iudex iustitiae est; abstulit a vobis tempus illud donatum, (8) et vos ecce hic estis et fratres nostri qui intus sunt. (9) Si liberabitis vos a mentibus vestris malis et si erudieritis corda vestra, et vivi conservati eritis et mortui miserebit vestri. (10) Iudicium enim mortis postea adveniet quando iterum revivescemus, (11) et iustitiae nomen apparebit et impii < > increpabuntur. (12) Ad nos autem nemo accedat neque requirat nos XL diebus.

6. (1) Et eduxi ego quinque homines sicut mandavit mihi, et abimus in agrum et mansimus ibi; (2) et fuit postea cras ecce vox vocavit me et dixit mihi: (3) Ezra, aperi os tuum et bibe

VII. აღვადგე პირი ჩემი და აჰა ესერა სასუემელი სავსე მომცა მე . და იყო იგი სავსე წყლითა ხოლო ფერი მისი გვეცხლის სახს მსგავსებითა . (5) და მოვიღე და შევსე . (6a) და გამოსცენდებოდა გულისა ჩემისა გან მეცნიერებამ და მკერდსა ჩემსა განეფინებოდა სიბრძნე . (6b) ხოლო სული ჩემი მოიგსენებდა და იწრაფდა . და აღეღო პირი ჩემი და არღარა დაიყო :

7. (1) ხოლო მაღალმან მოსცა მეცნიერებამ სუთთა მათ კაცთა . და წერდეს თქუძულთა მათ ერთი ერთისი შემდგომად¹ სასწაულისა რომელ არა იცოდეს : (2) და ვიყავ მუნ ორმეოც დღე . ხოლო ივინი დღისი წერედ და ღამე ჭამედ პურსა : ხოლო მე დღე ყოველ ვიტყოდი და ღამე არა დავდუმნი . (3) და დავწერე ორმეოცსა მას დღესა წიგნები ესე ოცხმეოც და ათოთხმეტნი :

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8. (1) და იყო ოდეს აღესრულნეს ორმეოცნი იგი დღენი . მეტყოდა მე მაღალი და მრტუა . (2) ოც და ოთხი რომელი პირველად დასწერეთ . იგი განცხადებულად დასდვათ და უკითხეთ იგი ღირსთა (.) : (3) ხოლო სამეოც და ათი დაჰმარხოთ რამთა მისცე იგი ბრძენთა ერისა შენისათა . | (4) რამეთუ მას შინა არს გვეცხლი გონებისამ და წყარომ სიბრძნისამ და მდინარე მეცნიერებისამ : (5) და ვყავთ ეგრეთ წელიწადთა მათ შუდთა შინა :

9. (1) მეხუთესა მას წელსა დაბადებით გან რომელ არს სუთათასი ოც . და მეხუთესა თუესა დღესა მესამესა ა(ღ)მაღლდა ეზრა და მიიყვანა სასუფეველსა მსგავსთა მისთა თანა : დიდებამ დმერთსა :-

quod potionabo tibi. (4) Et aperui os meum et ecce calicem plenum dedit mihi; et fuit ille plenus aqua, color autem eius sicut ignis similitudine. (5) Et accepi et bibi, (6a) et crescebat e corde meo intellectus, et in pectore meo repandebatur sapientia. (6b) Spiritus autem meus recordabatur et studebat. Et apertum est os meum et amplius non clausum est.

7. (1) Excelsus autem dedit intellectum quinque illis hominibus et scribebant dicta illa in successione secundum signa quae non sciebant. (2) Et fui ibi XL diebus; illi autem per diem scribebant et nocte edebant panem. Ego autem per diem totum loquebar et nocte non tacui. (3) Et scripsi in XL illis diebus libros hos XCIV.

8. (1) Et fuit quando completi essent XL illi dies, dicebat mihi Excelsus et dixit: (2) XXIV quos primum scripsistis, illos palam ponetis et legant illos digni < >. (3) LXX autem conservabitis ut des illos sapientibus populi tui, (4) quia in illis est ignis intellectus et fons sapientiae et flumen scientiae. (5) Et fecimus sic in anno illo septimo.

9. (1) In quinto illo anno a creatione, quod est MMMMM-XX et in quinto mense die tertio ascendebat Ezra et sublatus est in regnum cum similibus ei.

Gloria Deo!

